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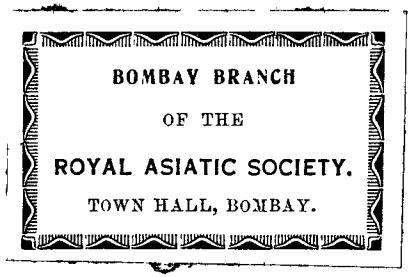

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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

63213

WITH

AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisqu ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. f. 65.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE,

SIR,

YOU will be ſurpriſed to ſee your name at the head of this Addreſs; but I flatter myſelf that the liberty which I take, in violation of all preliminary forms, will not require an apology. As ſoon as I had finiſhed a long and laborious work, with the ambition of adding to Engliſh Literature (what ſeemed to be much wanted) a Tranſlation of a great Hiſtorian, it was natural that I ſhould look round for a perſon of genius and learning, from whoſe candour I can promiſe myſelf a juſt, but mild deciſion. This, Sir, was the practice in ancient times, when the Republic of Letters was conſidered as an honourable community, and the ſeveral members addreſſed their Works to one another with a ſpirit

of freedom and integrity, till the manners underwent a change, and, Adulation diffuſing its baneful influence, Dedication became another word for ſervile Flattery.

It is not my intention to conform to the modern practice; but, though I know what a ſmall, if any, portion of ancient genius has fallen to my lot, I claim the privilege of imitating the diſintereſted manners of a liberal age. I beg leave to dedicate my labours to the perſon, whoſe talents I have long admired; to the man, whom I ſaw many years ago coming forth from the ſchool of Quintilian, impreſſed with the great principle of that conſummate maſter, *ne futurum quidem oratorem, niſi bonum virum.* In the part which you have acted on the great ſtage of public buſineſs, the effect of that principle has been ſeen and acknowledged; but in no inſtance, with ſuch diſtinguiſhed luſtre, as when we ſaw you, on a late occaſion, with a patriot ſpirit ſtanding forth *the champion of Truth*, of your Country, and the Britiſh Conſtitution.

———Per obſtantes catervas
Explicuit ſua victor arma.

The regicides of France had the vanity to offer their new lights and wild metaphyſics to a people who

who have underſtood and cheriſhed Civil Liberty from the invaſion of Julius Cæſar to the preſent hour; but your penetrating eye pervaded the whole, and, in one book, demonſtrated, that ſo far from being objects of imitation, the New Politicians of France were no better than ARCHITECTS OF RUIN. The *Friends of the People* in that country have been for years employed in proving, by all their acts and decrees, the truth of your reaſoning; they have been, I may ſay, writing Notes on your Book, and the Commentary has been fatally too often written in blood.

It is now acknowledged, Sir, that your early vigilance, your zeal and ardour, have hindered this country from being made a theatre of rapine, blood, and maſſacre. To whom can Tacitus, the great ſtateſman of his time, be ſo properly addreſſed, as to him, whoſe writings have ſaved his country? Scenes of horror, like thoſe which you have deſcribed, were acted at Romè, and Tacitus has painted them in colours equal to your own. He has ſhewn a frantic people, under the Prætorian bands, and the German legions, fighting for Anarchy, not for Civil Government.

Though

Though it is not for me to tell you, Sir, what is to be found in Tacitus, I beg leave to obſerve, that in theſe volumes there are three Tracts of great importance. In the Manners of the Germans, we have the origin of that Conſtitution, which you have ſo ably defended: in the Life of Agricola, we ſee that holy flame of Liberty, which has been for ages the glory of Engliſhmen, and the wonder of foreign nations. The Dialogue concerning Oratory is, perhaps, one of the moſt beautiful pieces that have come down to us from antiquity. Thoſe three Tracts have been always admired, and have now, in a great meaſure, occaſioned this Addreſs; for, to ſpeak my mind with freedom, if I knew a man in the kingdom, who underſtands thoſe ſubjects better than yourſelf, I ſhould have ſpared you the trouble of this Dedication.

I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

Sir,

Your moſt faithful

And moſt humble ſervant,

ARTHUR MURPHY.

Hammerſmith Terrace,
6th May, 1793.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LIFE AND GENIUS

OF

TACITUS.

THE author, whoſe works are now offered to the public, has gained, by the ſuffrages of poſterity, the higheſt rank among the hiſtorians of Greece and Rome. A profound judge of men, and a ſevere cenſor of the manners, he has delineated, with the pencil of a maſter, the characters and the very inward frame of the vile and profligate; while the good and upright receive, in his immortal page, the recompence due to their virtue. It is true that, while he extends the fame of others, he exalts his own name, and enjoys the triumph; but it is to be regretted that no memoirs of his life are extant. He knew the value of that private hiſtory which preſents the ſelect lives of eminent men; and, in the life of Agricola, has left a perfect model of biography: a mode of writing which, he ſays,

a was

was cultivated, with zeal and diligence, in the time of the old republic; but, under the emperors, fell into diſuſe. The good and virtuous were ſuffered to paſs out of the world, without an hiſtorian to record their names. The age was grown inattentive to its own concerns; and that cold indifference has withheld from us, what now would be highly gratifying to the learned world, an intimate and familiar acquaintance with a great and celebrated writer. All that can be done at preſent, is to collect the materials that lie diſperſed in fragments, and give a ſketch of the prominent features, ſince it were vain to attempt an exact portrait of him, who cannot now ſit for his picture.

Caius Cornelius Tacitus was born towards the beginning of Nero's reign. The exact year cannot be aſcertained, but there are circumſtances that lead to a reaſonable concluſion. Pliny the younger informs us, that he and Tacitus were nearly of the ſame age, and that, when he was growing up to manhood, his friend was flouriſhing among the foremoſt orators of the bar (1). Pliny's age can be ſtated with certainty. He ſays, in his account of the eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which happened in November A. U. C. 832, of the Chriſtian æra 79, that he was then in his eighteenth year (2). Tacitus, at that time high in reputation, was at leaſt four or five years older than Pliny, and moſt probably was born in the year of Rome 809 or 810, about the ſixth

(1) Ætate propemodum æquales. Equidem adoleſcentulus, cùm jam tù famâ gloriâque florens; te ſequi, tibi longo, ſed proximus, intervallo et eſſe, et haberi concupiſcebam. Lib. vii. epiſt. 20.

(2) Agebam enim duodeviceſſimum annum. Lib. vi. epiſt. 20.

year

year of Nero's reign. The place of his nativity is no where mentioned. It ſeems generally agreed, that he was the ſon of Cornelius Tacitus, a procurator appointed by the prince to manage the imperial revenue, and govern a province in Belgic Gaul. The perſon ſo employed was, by virtue of his office, of equeſtrian rank; and, if he was our hiſtorian's father, it may be ſaid of him, that it was his lot to give to the world two remarkable prodigies; one, in the genius of a great hiſtorian; the other, in a ſon, of whom we are told by Pliny the elder (1), that in the ſpace of three years he grew three cubits, or ſix feet nine inches, able to walk, but in a ſlow heavy pace, and dull of apprehenſion almoſt to ſtupidity. He died of ſudden ſpaſms and violent contractions of the nervous ſyſtem. Lipſius and others conſidered our author as the procurator in Belgia, and the father of that monſtrous phænomenon; but the conjecture was ill founded, and has been fully refuted by Bayle (2).

The place where our author received his education cannot now be known. Maſſilia (now Marſeilles) was, at that time, the ſeat of literature and poliſhed manners. Agricola was trained up in that univerſity; but there is no reaſon to think that Tacitus formed and enlarged his mind at the ſame place, ſince, when he relates the fact of his father-in-law (3), he is ſilent about himſelf. If he was educated at Rome,

(1) In tria cubita triennio adoleviſſe, inceſſu tardum, ſenſu hebetem, et abſumptum contractione membrorum ſubitâ. Ipſi non pridem vidimus eadem omnia in filio Cornelii Taciti, equitis Romani, Belgicæ Galliæ rationes procurantis. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. lib. vii. ſ. 12.

(2) Bayle's Dictionary, article TACITUS.

(3) Life of Agricola, ſ. 4.

we may be ſure that it was after a method very different from the faſhion then in vogue. The infant, according to the practice of the age, was committed to the menial ſervants, who were generally Greeks (1), and conſigned, as ſoon as he grew up, to the tuition of flimſy profeſſors, who called themſelves RHETORICIANS, and pretended to teach the rules of attic eloquence. But Greece was fallen into a ſtate of degeneracy. The ſublime of Demoſthenes was out of date. Point, antitheſis, and brilliant conceit, were the delight of vain preceptors, who filled the city of Rome, and held ſchools of declamation, by Cicero called *Ludus impudentiæ*. The manners were corrupted at the fountain-head; virtue was undermined by the profeſſors of morals; the doctrine of Epicurus ſpread the miſchief wider, and the proud philoſophy of the ſtoics was not able to repair the breach.

Tacitus, it is evident, did not imbibe the ſmalleſt tincture of that frivolous ſcience, and that vicious eloquence, that debaſed the Roman genius. He, moſt probably, had the good fortune to be formed upon the plan adopted in the time of the republic (2), and, with the help of a ſound ſcheme of home-diſcipline, and the beſt domeſtic example, he grew up, in a courſe of virtue, to that vigour of mind which gives ſuch animation to his writings. The early bent of his own natural genius was ſuch, that he may be ſaid to have been ſelf-educated; *ex ſe natus*, as Tiberius ſaid of one of his favourite orators. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he at-

(1) See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 29.

(2) See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 28.

tended

tended the lectures of Quintilian, who, in oppoſition to the ſophiſts of Greece, taught, for more than twenty years, the rules of that manly eloquence which is ſo nobly diſplayed in his inſtitutes. Some of the critics have applied to our author, the paſſage in which Quintilian, after enumerating the writers who flouriſhed in that period, ſays, "There is another perſon (1) who gives additional luſtre "to the age; a man who will deſerve the admiration "of poſterity. I do not mention him at preſent: his name "will be known hereafter." If this paſſage relates to Tacitus, the prediction has been fully verified. When Quintilian publiſhed his great work, in the reign of Domitian, Tacitus had not then written his Annals, or his Hiſtory. Thoſe immortal compoſitions were publiſhed in the time of Trajan. It does not often happen that the ſentiments of an hiſtorian are in uniſon with his own private character. Salluſt has employed the colours of eloquence, to paint the vices of the times which he deſcribes; but his own morals were not free from reproach. It is otherwiſe with Tacitus. He pronounces ſentence againſt bad men and evil deeds, with the firmneſs of an upright judge, who practiſed the virtue which he commends. Pure and diſintereſted, he wrote and acted with the ſame ſpirit, and was, for that reaſon, the choſen companion and boſom friend of the younger Pliny (2).

(1) Supereſt adhuc, et exornat ætatis noſtræ gloriam, vir ſæculorum memoriâ dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Quint. lib. x. cap. 1.

(2) Cornelium Tacitum (ſcis quem virum) arctâ familiaritate complexus eſt. Lib. iv. epiſt. 15.

The

The infancy of Tacitus kept him untainted by the vices of Nero's court. He was about twelve years old when that emperor finiſhed his career of guilt and folly; and in the tempeſtuous times that followed, he was ſtill ſecured by his tender years. Veſpaſian reſtored the public tranquillity, revived the liberal arts, and gave encouragement to men of genius. In the firſt eight years of that emperor, Tacitus was at leiſure to enlarge his mind, and cultivate the ſtudies proper to form an orator and a Roman citizen. The circle of arts and ſciences was narrow in compariſon with the wide range of modern times. Eloquence and the ſword were the means by which a Roman aſpired to the honours of the ſtate. Quintilian deſcribes the efficient qualities of an orator, and thoſe, he ſays, conſiſted in a thorough knowledge of the whole ſyſtem of ethics, ſome ſkill in natural philoſophy, and a competent knowledge of hiſtory, united to a perfect acquaintance with the rules of logic. He cautions his pupil "not to bewilder himſelf in the maze of metaphyſics, and "the chimerical viſions of abſtract ſpeculation, which "are too remote from the duties of civil life. What "philoſopher has ever been an able judge, an eminent "orator, or a ſkillful ſtateſman? The orator, whom I "would form, ſhould be a Roman of enlarged under-"ſtanding, a man of experience in public affairs, not "abſorbed in ſubtle diſquiſition, but exerciſed in the com-"merce of the world. Let the lover of theory and "viſionary ſchemes enjoy his retreat in the ſchools "of different ſects; and let the uſeful advocate learn "his art from thoſe who alone can teach it, the

"active,

"active, the uſeful, and the induſtrious (1)." That Tacitus agreed with the doctrine of Quintilian, is evident in the paſſage where he ſays of Agricola, that the commander of armies was, in the courſe of his education, in danger of being loſt to the public, in conſequence of an early bias to the refined ſyſtems of philoſophy, till, upon mature conſideration, he had the good ſenſe to wean himſelf from the vain purſuit of ingenious, but unavailing ſcience (2).

Our author's firſt ambition was to diſtinguiſh himſelf at the bar. In the year of Rome 828, the ſixth of Veſpaſian, being then about eighteen, he attended the eminent men of the day, in their enquiry concerning the cauſes of corrupt eloquence. It is here aſſumed, that he was the author of that elegant Tract, for the reaſons given in the introduction to the Notes (3). Agricola was joint conſul with Domitian, A. U. C. 830, for the latter part of the year. His name does not appear in the *Faſti Conſulares*, becauſe that honour

(1) Hæc exhortatio mea non eo pertinet, ut eſſe oratorem philoſophum velim, quando non alia vitæ ſecta longius a civilibus officiis, atque ab omni munere oratoris receſſit. Nam quis philoſophorum aut in judiciis frequens, aut clarus concionibus fuit? Quis denique in ipſâ, quam maximè plerique eorum vitandam præcipiunt, reipublicæ adminiſtratione verſatus eſt? atque ego illum, quem inſtituo, Romanum quemdam velim eſſe ſapientem, qui non ſecretis diſputationibus, ſed rerum experimentis atque operibus verè civilem virum exhibeat. Sed quia deſerta ab iis, qui ſe ad eloquentiam contulerunt, ſtudia ſapientiæ, non jam in actu ſuo, atque in hac fori luce verſantur, ſed in porticus et gymnaſia primum, mox in conventus ſcholarum receſſerunt, id quod eſt oratori neceſſarium, nec a dicendi præceptoribus traditur, ab iis petere nimirum neceſſe eſt, apud quos remanſit. Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

(2) See the Life of Agricola, ſ. 4.

(3) Dialogue concerning Oratory, vol. iv. p. 445.

was reſerved for the conſuls, who entered on their office on the kalends of January, and gave their name to the whole year. Tacitus, though not more than twenty, had given ſuch an earneſt of his future fame, that Agricola choſe him for his ſon-in-law. Thus diſtinguiſhed, our author began the career of civil preferment. Veſpaſian had a juſt diſcernment of men, and was the friend of riſing merit. Rome, at length, was governed by a prince, who had the good ſenſe and virtue to conſider himſelf as the chief magiſtrate, whoſe duty it was to redreſs all grievances, reſtore good order, and give energy to the laws. In ſuch times the early genius of our author attracted the notice of the emperor. The foundation of his fortune was laid by Veſpaſian (1). Tacitus does not tell the particulars, but it is probable that he began with the functions of the *Vigintivirate;* a body of twenty men commiſſioned to execute an inferior juriſdiction for the better regulation of the city. That office, according to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, was a preliminary ſtep to the gradations of the magiſtracy. The ſenate had power to diſpenſe with it in particular caſes; and, accordingly, we find Tiberius applying to the fathers (2) for that indulgence in favour of Druſus, the ſon of Germanicus. It is probable that Tacitus became one of the *Vigintivirate*, and conſequently that the road to honours was laid open to him. The death of Veſpaſian, which happened A. U. C. 832, did not ſtop him in his progreſs. Titus was the friend of virtue. The office of quæſtor, which might be entered upon at the age of twenty-four complete, was, in the regular courſe, the next public honour; and it qualified the

(1) Hiſtory, i. ſ. 1. (2) Annals, iii. ſ. 29.

perſon

perſon who diſcharged it, for a ſeat in the ſenate at five-and-twenty. Titus reigned little more than two years. Domitian ſucceeded to the imperial dignity. Suſpicious, dark, and ſullen, he made the policy of Tiberius the model of his government; and being by nature fierce, vindictive, impetuous, and ſanguinary, he copied the headlong fury of Nero, and made cruelty ſyſtematic. Poſſeſſed of an underſtanding quick and penetrating, he could diſtinguiſh the eminent qualities of illuſtrious men, whom he dreaded and hated. He ſaw public virtue, and he deſtroyed it. And yet, in that diſaſtrous period, Tacitus roſe to preferment. It would be difficult to account for the ſucceſs of a man who in the whole tenour of his conduct preſerved an unblemiſhed character, if he himſelf had not furniſhed a ſolution of the problem. Agricola, he tells us, had the addreſs to reſtrain the headlong violence of Domitian, by his prudence, and the virtues of moderation; never chooſing to imitate the zeal of thoſe, who, by their intemperance, provoked their fate, and ruſhed on ſure deſtruction, without rendering any kind of ſervice to their country. The conduct of Agricola plainly ſhewed that great men may exiſt in ſafety, under the worſt and moſt barbarous tyranny. (1). We may be ſure that he, who commends the mild diſpoſition of his father-in-law, had the prudence to obſerve the ſame line of conduct. Inſtead of giving umbrage to the prince, and provoking the tools of power, he was content to diſplay his eloquence at the bar. He purſued his plan of ſtudy, and, in the mean time, beheld the miſeries of his country with anguiſh of heart and ſuppreſſed in-

(1) Poſſe etiam ſub malis principibus magnos viros eſſe. Life of Agricola, 42.

dignation. Domitian, we are told (1), in order to throw a veil over the paſſions that lay lurking in his heart, and gathered rancour for a future day, had pretended, in the ſhade of literary eaſe, to dedicate all his time to the muſes. Tacitus had a talent for poetry, as appears in a letter to his friend Pliny (2). His verſes, moſt probably, ſerved to ingratiate him with the emperor; and, if he was the author of a collection of apothegms, called *Facetiarum Libri*, that very amuſement was the trueſt wiſdom at a time when ſuch trifles were the ſafeſt employment. Pliny the naturaliſt publiſhed a Treatiſe of Grammar in the reign of Nero, when every other mode of compoſition might provoke the ſudden fury of an unrelenting tyrant; and that wiſe example Tacitus might think proper to adopt. Domitian, it is certain, advanced our author's fortune. It is no where mentioned that Tacitus diſcharged the offices of tribune and ædile; but it may be preſumed that he paſſed through thoſe ſtations to the higher dignity of prætor, and member of the *Quindecemviral College*, which he enjoyed at the ſecular games A. U. C. 841, the ſeventh of Domitian (3)

In the courſe of the following year, our author and his wife left the city of Rome, and abſented themſelves more than four years. Some writers, willing to exalt the virtue

(1) Hiſtory, iv. f. 86.

(2) The letter in queſtion is, in many editions, improperly aſcribed to Pliny. It is manifeſtly an anſwer to what Pliny ſaid to Tacitus, lib. i. epiſt. 6. *Experieris non Dianam magis montibus, quam Minervam inerrare.* The anſwer ſays, *Aprorum tanta penuria eſt, ut Minervæ et Dianæ, quas ais pariter colendas, conveniri non poſſit.* Lib. ix. epiſt. 10.

(3) Annals, xi. f. 11.

of Tacitus, and aggravate the injuſtice of Domitian, will have it that Tacitus was ſent into baniſhment. This, however, is mere conjecture, without a ſhadow of probability to ſupport it. Tacitus makes no complaint againſt Domitian; he mentions no perſonal injury; he received marks of favour, and he acknowledges the obligation. It may, therefore, with good reaſon be inferred, that prudential conſiderations induced our author to retire from a city, where an inſatiate tyrant began to throw off all reſerve, and wage open war againſt all who were diſtinguiſhed by their talents and their virtue. Pliny, the conſul, was in the ſame ſituation, and has explained the motives of his conduct. He ſays of himſelf, "If I appeared in the reign of a diſguiſed, a politic, "and inſidious prince, to go forward in the career of ho- "nours, it was at a time when the tyrant had not unmaſked "himſelf. As ſoon as he ſhewed himſelf the avowed ene- "my of every virtue, I gave a check to ambition, and, "though I ſaw the ſhorteſt way to the higheſt dignities, the "longeſt appeared to me the beſt. I remained, during "thoſe ſcenes of public miſery, in the number of thoſe "who beheld the deſolation of their country with ſilent "ſorrow. For what I then ſuffered, it is now an ample "recompence, that, in theſe days of felicity, I am allowed "to rank with the good and virtuous (1)." In this paſſage we read the ſituation and conduct of Tacitus: he, like his friend Pliny, roſe to eminence under Domitian; and when

(1) Si curſu quodam provectus ab illo inſidioſiſſimo principe, antequam profiteretur odium bonorum; poſtquam profeſſus eſt, ſubſtiti; quum viderem quæ ad honores compendia paterent, longius iter malui: ſi malis temporibus inter mæſtos et paventes, bonis inter ſecuros gaudenteſque numeror. Paneg. Traj. ſ. 95.

he ſaw that iniquity and baſe compliances were the moſt compendious means, like his friend he founded his retreat, reſolved, at a diſtance from Rome, to ſeek a ſhelter from danger, and wait for better times.

He had been four years abſent from Rome, when he received the news of Agricola's death (1). That commander had carried his victorious arms from the ſouthern provinces of Britain to the Grampian Hills in Caledonia, and reduced the whole country as far as the Firth of Tay; but ſuch a rapid courſe of brilliant ſucceſs alarmed the jealouſy of an emperor, who dreaded nothing ſo much as a great military character. Agricola was recalled A. U. C. 838. He entered Rome in a private manner, and was received by Domitian with cold civility and diſſembled rancour. He lived a few years longer in a modeſt retreat, and the exerciſe of domeſtic virtue, endeavouring to ſhade the luſtre of his vaſt renown. He died on the 23d day of Auguſt, in the year of Rome 846, of the Chriſtian æra 93. A report prevailed, that a doſe of poiſon, adminiſtered by the emperor's order, put an end to his days. Tacitus mentions the ſuſpicion, but does not forget that calumny is often buſy with falſe ſuggeſtions. Grief is credulous, and, on that occaſion, might have been hurried away by the current of popular opinion; but Tacitus was generous enough to acknowledge, with candour, that the ſtory reſted on no kind of proof (2). He returned to Rome ſoon after the death of

(1) Nobis tam longæ abſentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amiſſus es. Vita Agric. f. 45.

(2) Augebat miſerationem conſtans rumor, "Veneno interceptum." Nobis nihil comperti affirmare auſim. Vita Agric. f. 43.

his father-in-law, and from that time ſaw the beginning of the moſt dreadful æra, in which Domitian broke out with unbridled fury, and made the city of Rome a theatre of blood and horror. Pliny deſcribes the tyrant in his cloſe retreat, brooding over miſchief, like a ſavage beaſt in his den; and never iſſuing from his ſolitude, but to make a worſe ſolitude round him. He adds a ſentiment truly noble in the mouth of a Heathen, and, in fact, worthy of a Chriſtian philoſopher. Domitian, he ſays, ſecluded himſelf within the walls of his palace; but he carried with him the malice of his heart, his plans of future maſſacre, and the preſence of an avenging God (1).

The moſt illuſtrious citizens were put to death without mercy. They were deſtroyed by poiſon, or the aſſaſſin's dagger. In ſome inſtances, the tyrant wiſhed to give the colour of juſtice to the moſt horrible murders, and for that purpoſe ordered accuſations, in due form of law, to be exhibited at the tribunal of the fathers. In all theſe caſes, he inveſted the ſenate-houſe with an armed force, and extorted a condemnation of the moſt upright citizens. Senators were thrown into dungeons; rocks and barren iſlands were crowded with illuſtrious exiles, who were, in a ſhort time, murdered by the centurions and their hired aſſaſſins. Wealth and merit were capital crimes; the race of informers enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of ruined families; ſlaves were admitted to give evidence againſt their maſters;

(1) Non adire quiſquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras ſemper ſecretumque captantem, nec unquam ex ſolitudine ſuâ prodeuntem, niſi ut ſolitudinem faceret. Ille tamen quibus ſe parietibus et muris ſalutem ſuam tueri videbatur, dolum ſecum, et inſidias, et ultorem Deum incluſit. Paneg. Trag. ſ. 49.

freedmen,

freedmen were ſuborned againſt their patrons, and numbers periſhed by the treachery of their friends (1).

A conſpiracy, at length, was formed in the palace by the domeſtic ſervants. Domitian fell under repeated wounds on the 18th of September A. U. C. 849, of the Chriſtian æra 96, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Nerva ſucceeded to the empire, and carried with him to that eminence virtues unknown to his predeceſſors, who had been, as Pliny obſerves, maſters of the Roman citizens, and ſlaves to their own freedmen (2). Nerva found means to reconcile two things, which had been thought incompatible; civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince (3). The emperor was no longer ſuperior to the law; he was ſubject to it (4). Nerva, in the year of Rome 850, was joint conſul with Verginius Rufus; both venerable old men, who exhibited to the people the auguſt ſpectacle of diſtinguiſhed virtue advanced to a poſt of dignity. Nerva had been with difficulty perſuaded to accept the imperial ſway; and Rufus, when it was preſſed upon him by the legions in Germany, had the glory of refuſing it upon the nobleſt principle, becauſe he wiſhed to ſee the military ſubordinate to the legiſlative authority of the ſenate (5).

(1) Hiſt. book i. ſ. 2.

(2) Plerique principes, cum eſſent civium domini, libertorum erant ſervi. Paneg. Traj. ſ. 88.

(3) Res olim diſſociabiles; libertatem ac principatum. Vita Agric. ſ. 3.

(4) Non eſt princeps ſuper leges, ſed leges ſuper principem. Paneg. Traj. ſ. 65.

(5) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Verginius

Verginius died before the end of the year, at the age of eighty-three, having ſeen, in the courſe of a long life, eleven emperors, and ſurvived them all, notwithſtanding the virtues that adorned his character. He lived to ſee himſelf extolled by poets, and celebrated by hiſtorians, anticipating the praiſe of poſterity, and enjoying his poſthumous fame (1). Tacitus was created conſul for the remainder of the year, and for that reaſon, his name is not to be found in the liſt of conſuls. In honour of Verginius, the ſenate decreed that the rites of ſepulture ſhould be performed at the public expence. Tacitus delivered the funeral oration from the roſtrum. The applauſe of ſuch an orator, Pliny ſays, was ſufficient to crown the glory of a well ſpent life (2). Nerva died on the 27th of January A. U. C. 851, having, about three months before, adopted Trajan for his ſucceſſor. In that ſhort interval the critics have agreed to place the publication of the Life of Agricola; and their reaſon is, becauſe Tacitus mentions NERVA CÆSAR, but does not ſtyle him DIVUS, the deified Nerva, which, they ſay, would have been the caſe if the emperor was then deceaſed; but they forgot that, in the ſame Tract, our author tells us how ardently Agricola wiſhed to ſee the elevation of Trajan to the ſeat of empire (3); and that wiſh would have been an awkward compliment to the reigning prince. It ſeems therefore probable, that the Life of Agricola was publiſhed

(1) Legit ſcripta de ſe carmina; legit hiſtorias, et poſteritati ſuæ interfuit. Pliny, lib. ii. epiſt. 1.

(2) Laudatus eſt a Cornelio Tacito: nam hic ſupremus felicitati ejus cumulus acceſſit; laudator eloquentiſſimus. Lib. ii. epiſt. 1.

(3) Durare in hac beatiſſimi ſæculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre augurio votiſque ominabatur. Vita Agric. ſ. 44.

in

in the reign of Trajan. The Treatiſe on the Manners of the Germans, it is generally agreed, made its appearance in the year of Rome 851. The new emperor, whoſe adoption and ſucceſſion had been confirmed by a decree of the ſenate, was at the head of the legions in Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Nerva, and his own acceſſion to the empire. Being of a warlike diſpoſition, he was not in haſte to leave the army, but remained there during the entire year. In ſuch a juncture, a picture of German manners could not fail to excite the curioſity of the public. The ſecond conſulſhip of Trajan is mentioned in the Tract (1), and that was A. U. C. 851, in conjunction with NERVA, who died before the end of January. It is therefore certain that the deſcription of Germany ſaw the light in the courſe of that year. The Dialogue concerning Oratory was an earlier production, and probably was publiſhed in the reign of Titus or Domitian, who are both celebrated in that very piece, for their talents, and their love of polite literature.

The friendſhip that ſubſiſted between our author and the younger Pliny is well known. It was founded on the conſonance of their ſtudies and their virtues. When Pliny ſays that a good and virtuous prince can never be ſincerely loved, unleſs we ſhew our deteſtation of the tyrants that preceded him (2), we may be ſure that Tacitus was of the ſame opinion. They were both convinced that a ſtriking

(1) Manners of the Germans, f. 37.

(2) Neque enim ſatis amarint bonos principes, qui malos ſatis non oderint. Paneg. Traj. f. 53.

picture

picture of former tyranny ought to be placed in contraſt to the felicity of the times that ſucceeded. Pliny acted up to his own idea in the panegyric of Trajan, where we find a vein of ſatire on Domitian running through the whole piece. It appears, in his Letters, that he had ſome thoughts of writing Hiſtory on the ſame principle. To give perpetuity to real merit, and not ſuffer the men, who deſerved to live in the memory of ages, to ſink into oblivion, appeared to him to be an honourable employment, and the ſureſt way to tranſmit his own name to poſterity (1); but he had not reſolution to undertake that arduous taſk. Tacitus had more vigour of mind; he thought more intenſely, and with deeper penetration than his friend. We find that he had formed, at an early period, the plan of his Hiſtory, and reſolved to execute it, in order to ſhew the horrors of ſlavery, and the debaſement of the Roman people through the whole of Domitian's reign (2).

He did not, however, though employed in a great and important work, renounce his practice in the forum. It is true, as ſtated in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, that the eloquence of the old republic was no longer to be found under the emperors; but ſtill great opportunities occurred, and the powers of oratory were called forth on ſubjects worthy of Cicero and Hortenſius. The governors of provinces produced many a VERRES, and the plundered natives had frequent cauſe of complaint. Senators of the

(1) Pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati occidere quibus æternitas debetur, aliorumque famam cum ſuâ extendere. Lib. v. epiſt. 8.

(2) See Life of Agricola, ſ. 3.

firſt eminence were haraſſed by the crew of informers; and their fortunes, their rank and dignity, their families, and all that was dear to them, depended on the iſſue of the cauſe. The orator, on ſuch occaſions, felt himſelf rouſed and animated: he could thunder and lighten in his diſcourſe; open every ſource of the pathetic; draw the tear of compaſſion; and mould his audience according to his will and pleaſure. This was the caſe in the proſecution of Marius Priſcus, who had been proconſul of Africa, and ſtood impeached before the ſenate at the ſuit of the province. Pliny relates the whole tranſaction. Priſcus preſented a memorial, praying to be tried by a commiſſion of ſelect judges. Tacitus and Pliny, by the ſpecial appointment of the fathers, were advocates on the part of the Africans. They thought it their duty to inform the houſe, that the crimes alledged againſt Priſcus were of too atrocious a nature to fall within the cognizance of an inferior court. Fronto Catius ſtood up in his favour, and diſplayed all the force of pathetic eloquence. The villains, to whom it was alledged that Priſcus had ſold the lives of innocent men, were tried and convicted. The charge againſt the proconſul was heard at an adjourned meeting, the moſt auguſt that had ever been ſeen, the emperor (for he was then conſul) preſiding in perſon. Pliny ſpoke almoſt five hours ſucceſſively. Claudius Marcellinus, and Salvius Liberalis exerted themſelves for their client. Tacitus replied with great eloquence, and a certain dignity, which diſtinguiſhed all his ſpeeches (1). It was ſomething very noble, ſays Pliny, and worthy of Ancient Rome,

(1) Reſpondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentiſſimè, et, quod eximium orationi ejus ineſt, σεμνῶς. Pliny, lib. ii. epiſt. 11.

to

to ſee the ſenate deliberating three days together. The reſult was, that Priſcus was ſentenced to pay 700,000 ſeſterces, the amount of the bribes he had received, and to be baniſhed Italy. The ſenate concluded the buſineſs, with a declaration that Tacitus and Pliny executed the truſt repoſed in them to the entire ſatisfaction of the houſe.

This cauſe was tried A. U. C. 853, in the third of Trajan's reign. From that time Tacitus dedicated himſelf altogether to his Hiſtory. Pliny informs us, that our author was frequented by a number of viſitors, who admired his genius, and for that reaſon went in crowds to his levee (1). From that conflux of men of letters, Tacitus could not fail to gain the beſt information. Pliny ſent him a full detail of all the circumſtances of the death of his uncle, the elder Pliny, who loſt his life in the eruption of Mount Veſuvius (2), in order that an exact relation of that event might be tranſmitted to poſterity. Pliny ſays, "If my uncle is mentioned in "your immortal work, his name will live for ever in the "records of fame." He ſays in another Letter, "I preſage "that your Hiſtory will be immortal. I ingenuouſly own, "therefore, that I wiſh to find a place in it. If we are ge- "nerally careful to have our faces taken by the beſt artiſt, "ought we not to deſire that our actions may be celebrated "by an author of your diſtinguiſhed character?" With that view he draws up an account of his conduct in the proſecution of Bebius Maſſa; and after ſtating the particulars,

(1) Copia ſtudioſorum, quæ ad te admiratione ingenii tui convenit. Lib. iv. epiſt. 13.

(2) Lib. vi. epiſt. 16.

he concludes, "Whatever my merit may be in this buſi-
"neſs, it is in your power to heighten and ſpread the
"luſtre of it; though I am far from deſiring you would
"in the leaſt exceed the bounds of reality. Hiſtory ought
"to be guided by ſtrict truth, and worthy actions require
"nothing more (1)."

Trajan reigned nineteen years. He died ſuddenly in Cilicia A. U. C. 870, A. D. 117. The exact time when our author publiſhed his Hiſtory is uncertain, but it was in ſome period of Trajan's reign. He was reſolved to ſend his work into the world in that happy age when he could think with freedom, and what he thought he could publiſh in perfect ſecurity (2). He began from the acceſſion of Galba A. U. C. 822, and followed down the thread of his narrative to the death of Domitian in the year 849; the whole compriſing a period of ſeven-and-twenty years, full of important events, and ſudden revolutions, in which the prætorian bands, the armies in Germany, and the legions of Syria, claimed a right to raiſe whom they thought proper to the imperial ſeat, without any regard for the authority of the ſenate. Such was the ſubject Tacitus had before him. The ſummary view, which he has given of thoſe diſaſtrous times, is the moſt awful picture of civil commotion, and the wild diſtraction of a frantic people (3). Voſſius ſays, the whole work conſiſted of no leſs than thirty books; but, to

(1) Nam nec hiſtoria debet egredi veritatem, et honeſtè factis veritas ſufficit. Lib. vii. epiſt. 33.

(2) Rarâ temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, et quæ ſentias dicere licet. Hiſt. i. f. 1.

(3) See Hiſtory, i. f. 2.

the great loſs of the literary world, we have only four books, and the beginning of the fifth. In what remains, we have little after the acceſſion of Veſpaſian. The Reign of Titus, the delight of human-kind, is totally loſt, and Domitian has eſcaped the vengeance of the hiſtorian's pen.

The Hiſtory being finiſhed, Tacitus did not think that he had completed his Tablature of Slavery. He went back to Tiberius, who left a model of tyranny for his ſucceſſors. This ſecond work included a period of four-and-fifty years, from the year 767, to the death of Nero in 821. The part of the Hiſtory which has come down to us, does not include two entire years. During that time the whole empire was convulſed, and the author had to arrange the operations of armies in Germany, Batavia, Gaul, Italy, and Judæa, all in motion almoſt at the ſame time. This was not the caſe in the Annals. The Roman world was in profound tranquillity, and the Hiſtory of Domeſtic Tranſactions was to ſupply Tacitus with materials. The author has given us, with his uſual brevity, the true character of this part of his work: "The detail (1), he ſays, into which he was obliged to en- "ter, while it gave leſſons of prudence, was in danger of "being dry and unentertaining. In other Hiſtories, the "operation of armies, the ſituation of countries, the events "of war, and the exploits of illuſtrious generals, awaken "curioſity, and expand the imagination. We have nothing "before us but acts of deſpotiſm, continual accuſations, "the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial "after trial, ending always in the ſame tragic cataſtrophe.

(1) See Annals, iv. f. 33.

"Events

" Events like theſe will give to the work a tedious uniformity,
" without an object to enliven attention, without an inci-
" dent to prevent ſatiety." But the genius of Tacitus ſur-mounted every difficulty. He was able to keep attention awake, to pleaſe the imagination, and enlighten the under-ſtanding. The ſtyle of the Annals differs from that of the Hiſtory, which required ſtately periods, pomp of expreſſion, and harmonious ſentences. The Annals are written in a ſtrain more ſubdued and temperate: every phraſe is a maxim: the narrative goes on with rapidity; the author is ſparing of words, and prodigal of ſentiment: the characters are drawn with a profound knowledge of human nature, and when we ſee them figuring on the ſtage of public buſineſs, we perceive the internal ſpring of their actions; we ſee their motives at work, and of courſe are prepared to judge of their conduct.

The Annals, as well as the Hiſtory, have ſuffered by the barbarous rage, and more barbarous ignorance of the tribes that overturned the Roman empire. Part of the fifth book, containing three years of Tiberius, the entire four years of Caligula, the ſix firſt of Claudius, and the two laſt of Nero, have periſhed in the wreck of literature. We find that Tacitus intended, if his life and health continued, to review the reign of Auguſtus (1), in order to detect the arts by which the old conſtitution was overturned to make way for the government of a ſingle ruler. This, in the hands of ſuch a writer, would have been a curious portion

(1) Cætera illius ætatis memorabo, ſi, effectis in quæ tendi, plures ad curas vitam produxero. Annals, lib. iii. f. 24.

of hiſtory; but it is probable that he did not live to carry his deſign into execution. The time of his death is not mentioned by any ancient author. It ſeems, however, highly probable that he died in the reign of Trajan, and we may reaſonably conclude that he ſurvived his friend Pliny. Thoſe two writers were the ornaments of the age; both men of genius; both encouragers of literature; the friends of liberty and virtue. The eſteem and affection, with which Pliny thought of our author, is evident in ſeveral of his Letters, but nowhere more than in the following paſſage: "I never was touched with a more ſenſible pleaſure, than "by an account which I lately received from Cornelius "Tacitus. He informed me that, at the laſt Circenſian "games, he ſat next to a ſtranger, who, after much "diſcourſe on various ſubjects of learning, aſked him if "he was an Italian, or a provincial? Tacitus replied, Your "acquaintance with literature muſt have informed you who "I am. Ay! ſaid the man; pray then is it Tacitus or "Pliny I am talking with? I cannot expreſs how highly "I am pleaſed to find that our names are not ſo much the "proper appellations of men, as a kind of diſtinction for "learning itſelf (1)." Had Pliny been the ſurvivor, he, who lamented the loſs of all his friends, would not have failed to pay the laſt tribute to the memory of Tacitus.

(1) Nunquam majorem cepi voluptatem, quam nuper ex ſermone Cornelii Taciti. Narrabat ſediſſe ſe cum quodam Circenſibus proximis; hunc poſt varios eruditoſque ſermones requiſiſſe, *Italicus es, an provincialis?* Se reſpondiſſe, *Nôſti me equidem ex ſtudiis.* Ad hoc illum: *Tacitus es, an Plinius?* Exprimere non poſſum, quàm ſit jucundum mihi, quod nomina noſtra quaſi literarum propria, non hominum, litteris redduntur. Lib. ix. epiſt. 23.

The

The commentators aſſume it as a certain fact, that our author muſt have left iſſue; and their reaſon is, becauſe they find that M. Claudius Tacitus, who was created emperor A. U. C. 1028, A. D. 275, deduced his pedigree from the great hiſtorian (1). That excellent prince was only ſhewn to the world. He was ſnatched away by a fit of illneſs at the end of ſix months, having crowded into that ſhort reign a number of virtues. Vopiſcus tells us, that he ordered the image of Tacitus, and a complete collection of his works, to be placed in the public archives, with a ſpecial direction that twelve copies ſhould be made every year (2), at the public expence. But when the mutilated ſtate, in which our author has come down to poſterity, is conſidered, there is reaſon to believe that the orders of the prince were never executed.

No ſtone, and no ſepulchral inſcription has been found to tell where the remains of our author were depoſited; but he, whoſe works are a laſting memorial, *monimentum ære perennius*, did not ſtand in need of periſhable materials. All the powers that form and conſtitute a true genius, were his in an eminent degree. He had beſides a thorough knowledge of all the modes of government then known in the world; he was verſed in civil affairs; he knew the policy of ſtateſmen, and he read men as well as books. With a mind thus prepared, he undertook to write the Hiſtory of his own times. Before he entered on his taſk, it is evident that

(1) Vopiſcus, Vita Taciti. (2) Vopiſcus, *ibidem*.

he

He had well conſidered the nature and importance of it. He agreed with Cicero, who ſays, " It is the firſt law of hiſtory " that the writer ſhould neither dare to advance what is " falſe, nor to ſuppreſs what is true; that he ſhould relate " the facts with ſtrict impartiality, free from ill-will or fa- " vour; that his narrative ſhould diſtinguiſh the order of " time, and, when neceſſary, give the deſcription of places; " that he ſhould unfold the ſtateſman's motives, and in his " account of the tranſactions and the events, interpoſe his " own judgment; and ſhould not only relate what was " done, but how it was done; and what ſhare chance, or " raſhneſs, or prudence had in the iſſue: that he ſhould give " the characters of the leading men, their weight and in- " fluence, their paſſions, their principles, and their conduct " through life (1)." There can be no doubt but this was our author's model, ſince we find him, in different parts of his work, laying down thoſe very rules. But there was ſtill a ſuperior rule which Tacitus preſcribed to himſelf, and which has been followed by few hiſtorians. He ſays expreſsly, " that it is incumbent on the writer to re-judge " the actions of men, to the end that the good and worthy

(1) Quis neſcit primam eſſe hiſtoriæ legem, ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua ſuſpicio gratiæ ſit in ſcribendo, ne qua ſimultatis. Rerum ratio ordinem temporum deſiderat, regionum deſcriptionem; vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriâque dignis, conſilia primum, deinde acta, poſtea eventus expectantur, et de conſiliis ſignificari quid ſcriptor putet, et in rebus geſtis declarari non ſolum quid actum, aut dictum ſit, ſed etiam quomodo; et cum de eventu dicatur, ut cauſæ explicentur omnes, vel caſus, vel ſapientiæ, vel temeritatis; hominumque ipſorum non ſolum res geſtæ, ſed etiam qui famâ ac nomine excellant, de cujuſque vitâ, atque naturâ. De Orat. lib. ii. ſ. 62 and 63.

" may meet with the reward due to eminent virtue, and " that pernicious citizens may be deterred by the condem- " nation that waits on evil deeds at the tribunal of poſte- " rity. In this conſiſts the chief part of the hiſtorian's " duty (1)."

With this ſublime idea, this grand moral principle, our author entered on his office, and no wonder that he has deſerved to be ſtyled the great hiſtorian of antiquity. To the generous and noble principle that guided his pen throughout his work, he united a fund of knowledge, and the colours of eloquence. Every ſhort deſcription is a picture in miniature: we ſee the perſon acting, ſpeaking, or ſuffering: our paſſions are kept in a tumult of emotion; they ſucceed each other in quick viciſſitude; they mix and blend in various combinations; we glow with indignation, we melt into tears. What a picture have we of Tiberius, the cloſe, diſguiſed, ſyſtematic tyrant! the ſlave in the iſle of Caprea to his unnatural vices, and, amidſt his pleaſures, a prey to his own guilty conſcience! We behold his inward torture, *the laniatus pectoris!* In what an amiable light is Germanicus repreſented! How noble his ſpeech to the ſeditious ſoldiers! What landſkip painter can equal the deſcription of the field covered with the limbs of the legions ſlaughtered under Varus? And when at laſt we ſee Germanicus on his death-bed in Syria, can a more intereſting and pathetic ſcene be preſented to our imagination? When his wife, Agrippina, at the port of Brunduſium, iſſues forth from the ſhip, leading her children, with the urn of Germanicus in her hand,

(1) See the quotation in the Title-page.

and

and her eyes fixed on that melancholy object, amidſt the mournful, and, it may be ſaid, the eloquent ſilence of ſpectators crowded on the walls, on tops of houſes, and on the coaſt, can the terrible graces of that whole deſcription be ſufficiently admired? Meſſalina is repreſented in the trueſt colours; odious for her vices, deteſted for her crimes, yet, by the magic pencil of Tacitus, made in the end an object of compaſſion. When we ſee her in the gardens of Lucullus, ſtretched on the ground, with her mother weeping over her; when we hear that mother exhorting her to end her miſery; when we ſee the daughter with a feeble arm aiming a poniard at her breaſt, yet irreſolute, heſitating, unable to execute her purpoſe; and at laſt, with the aſſiſtance of the tribune, dying in the arms of her afflicted mother; we yield to the ſenſations of humanity; we pity the unhappy victim, and almoſt forgive her crimes. In the account of Agrippina, the mother of Nero, conducted from a ſhip-wreck to her own villa, and, after all the uproar of crowds and mariners on the ſea-coaſt, terrified by the mournful ſilence all around her, we have a picture of diſtreſs that keeps the heart in agitation; and it may be aſked, in the whole compaſs of Hiſtory, is there any thing ſo truly affecting as her two laſt words, *Ventrem feri* (1)? The mother of Nero ſays to the centurion, Plunge your ſword in my womb! An ingenious French critic has ſelected the paſſages in Homer that preſent ſubjects for the canvaſs of the artiſt; but it may ſafely be ſaid, that a more intereſting collection may be found in Tacitus. The wife of Arminius coming forth from the caſtle, where ſhe was beſieged with Segeſtes her father,

(1) Annals, xiv. ſ. 8.

preſents a ſubject worthy of the fineſt painter. We ſee her before us, breathing the ſpirit of her huſband, determined, ſilent, not a tear falling, with her eyes fixed on her womb, then pregnant with an infant to be born in ſlavery (1). To mention all the inſtances of a ſimilar nature, were an endleſs taſk; for, in fact, the Annals may be called an hiſtorical picture gallery. It is by that magic power that Tacitus has been able to animate the dry regularity of the chronologic order, and to ſpread a charm through the whole, that awakens curioſity, and enchains attention. How different from the gazette ſtyle of Suetonius, who relates his facts in a calm unimpaſſioned tone, unmoved by the diſtreſs of injured virtue, and never riſing to indignation. Tacitus, on the contrary, ſits in judgment on the prince, the ſenate, the conſuls, and the people; and he finds eloquence to affect the heart, and through the imagination to inform the underſtanding. The Hiſtory of Tacitus is Philoſophy teaching by examples.

It may be expected, that ſome notice ſhould be taken of the objections which have been urged by the various writers, who have thought proper to place themſelves in the chair of criticiſm. It has been truly ſaid, that the people never leave any man, however great his merit, without a rival; *populus neminem ſine æmulo ſinit.* The ſame has happened in the republic of letters. Parties and factions prevail; the critics take the lead, and under their banners all are liſted;

(1) Inerant fœminæ nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segeſtis, mariti magis quàm parentis animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce ſupplex, compreſſis intra ſinum manibus, gravidum uterum intuens. Annals, i. f. 57.

ſome

ſome for Thucydides, ſome for Salluſt, others for Livy and Polybius; all inflamed with animoſity, and none attending to the ſpecific qualities that diſtinguiſh the reſpective authors. The firſt charge exhibited againſt Tacitus is, that he has written bad Latin. This ſhall be anſwered by a writer who was maſter of as much elegance as can be attained in a dead language. "Who, ſays Muretus, are we moderns, "even if all, who have acquired great ſkill in the Latin lan- "guage, were aſſembled in a body; who are we that pre- "ſume to pronounce againſt an author, who, when the "Roman language ſtill flouriſhed in all its ſplendor (and it "flouriſhed to the time of Hadrian), was deemed the moſt "eloquent orator of his time? When we reflect on the "number of ancient authors whoſe works have been de- "ſtroyed, which of us can pretend to ſay that the words, "which appear new in Tacitus, were not known and uſed "by the ancients? And yet, at the diſtance of ages, when "the productions of genius have been well nigh extin- "guiſhed, we of this day take upon us, in a deciſive tone, "to condemn the moſt celebrated writers, whoſe cooks and "mule-drivers underſtood the Latin language, and ſpoke "it better than the moſt confident ſcholar of the preſent "age (1)." If it be ſaid that the quarrel is not with ingle

(1) Qui nos ſumus, ſi omnes in unum conferantur, quicunque hâc tempeſtate Latinè loqui videmur, ut de ſcriptore ſapientiſſimo, nato iis temporibus, quibus adhuc Romana lingua florebat (planè enim floruit uſque ad Hadrianum), habito diſertiſſimo ætatis ſuæ, ſiniſtrè judicare audeamus? Quis hodie affirmare audeat, cum tanta veterum ſcriptorum facta jactura ſit, ea, quæ apud Tacitum nova videntur, non apud veteres quoque in uſu fuiſſe? In tantâ veterum ſcriptorum diſperſione, tam longo temporum intervallo, tantâ Latini ſermonis oblivione, optimæ notæ

ſingle words, but with phraſes not to be found in other Latin authors; the charge may be admitted. Our author has frequent Greciſms, and the expreſſion is not only florid, but often poetical. This, we know, was the *new way of writing* introduced by Seneca (1); and though Tacitus ſaw the falſe glitter and affected ornaments of that popular writer, and knew how to give to his own ſtyle more ſtrength and gravity, it cannot be denied that he often aims at a more ſplendid diction than either Livy or Salluſt.

The love of brevity, which diſtinguiſhes Tacitus from all other writers, was probably the conſequence of his early admiration of Seneca; and, perhaps, was carried farther by that conſtant habit of cloſe thinking, which could ſeize the principal idea, and diſcard all unneceſſary appendages. Tacitus was ſparing of words, and laviſh of ſentiment. Monteſquieu ſays he knew every thing, and therefore abridged every thing. In the political maxims and moral reflections which, where we leaſt expect it, dart a ſudden light, yet never interrupt the rapidity of the narrative, the comprehenſive energy of the ſentence gives all the pleaſure of ſurpriſe, while it conveys a deep reflection. The obſervations, which Quintilian calls *lumina ſententiarum*, crowded faſt on the author's mind, and he ſcorned to waſte his ſtrength in words; he gave the image in profile, and left the reader to take a round-about view. His ſtyle may be compared

ſcriptores damnare non veremur, quorum coqui et muliones multo melius quàm nos Latinè et intelligebant et loquebantur. MURETUS, in an Oration, entitled, DEFENSIO TACITI.

(1) See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, vol. iv. p. 524.

to the mode adopted by Poppæa, who, we are told (1), wore a veil that ſhaded, or ſeemed to ſhade her face, leſt her beauty, by being too much diſplayed, might tarniſh in the eye of the public; or becauſe that ſtyle of dreſs was graceful and becoming. It may be aſked, Is Tacitus never obſcure? He certainly is: his own laconic manner, and, it may be added, the omiſſions of the copyiſts, have occaſioned ſome difficulties; but he, who has made himſelf familiar with the peculiarities of the ſtyle, will not be much embarraſſed. By due attention to the context, the true, or at leaſt the probable meaning may be always found. But ſtill it may be ſaid, that, in ſo long a work, one continued ſtrain of ſtudied brevity fatigues the ear, and tires the reader by an unvaried and diſguſting monotony. Variety, it muſt be admitted, would give new graces to the narrative, and prevent too much uniformity. The celebrated Montagne obſerves, that Tacitus abounds with ſtrong and vigorous ſentences, often conſtructed with point and ſubtlety, agreeably to the taſte of the age, which delighted in the gay and brilliant; and when thoſe were not in the thought, the writer was ſure to find an antitheſis in the expreſſion. And yet it is remarkable that the ſame writer, who owns that for twenty years together he read by fits and ſtarts, tells us himſelf, that he read Tacitus a ſecond time in one regular train without interruption.

The next allegation of the critics is, that Tacitus was a

(1) Rarus in publicum egreſſus; idque velatâ parte oris, ne ſatiaret aſpectum, vel quia ſic decebat. Annals, xiii. f. 45. This remark is borrowed from Gordon: if another alluſion of equal elegance can be found in his works, it has eſcaped the preſent writer.

miſanthrope, who beheld human nature with a malignant eye, and, always ſuſpecting the worſt, falſified facts, in order to paint men worſe than they were. The anſwer is obvious: Tacitus was fallen on evil times; he ſays, "A black and "evil period lies before me. The age was ſunk to the "loweſt depth of ſordid adulation, inſomuch that not only "the moſt illuſtrious citizens, in order to ſecure themſelves, "were obliged to crouch in bondage; but even men of "conſular and prætorian rank, and the whole ſenate tried, "with emulation, who ſhould be the moſt obſequious "ſlave (1)." In ſuch times, who could live free from ſuſpicion? Tacitus knew the character of Tiberius; he was an accurate obſerver of mankind: but he muſt have been credulous indeed, or, like Velleius Paterculus, the willing dupe of a profligate court, if he had not laid open the ſecret motives of all, and traced their actions to their firſt principles. At the head of the critics, who have endeavoured to enforce the charge of falſehood and malevolence, ſtands Famianus Strada, the elegant author of the well known Proluſiones Academicæ, and the Wars in Holland, entitled, De Bello Belgico: but it will be ſufficient, in anſwer to his laboured declamations, to ſay with Lord Bolingbroke, "He was a rhetor, who condemned Tacitus, "and preſumed to write Hiſtory himſelf."

The imputation of atheiſm, which has been alledged by critics of more piety than diſcernment, is eaſily refuted.

(1) Tempora illa adeo infecta, et adulatione ſordida fuêre, ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo ſua obſequiis protegenda erat, ſed omnes conſulares, magna pars eorum, qui præturâ functi, multique etiam pedarii ſenatores certatim exſurgerent, fœdaque et nimia cenſerent. Annals, iii. f. 65.

Whatever

Whatever were our author's doubts concerning fate, free-will, and the influence of the planets, let the fine apoſtrophe to the departed ſpirit of Agricola (1) be peruſed with attention, and every ſentiment will diſcover a mind impreſſed with the idea of an all-ruling Providence. There are many paſſages in the Annals and the Hiſtory to the ſame effect: but more on this head is unneceſſary. Nor does the paradox ſuggeſted by Boccalini deſerve a longer diſcuſſion. That author gives it as his opinion, that the whole deſign of the Annals was to teach the arts of deſpotiſm: it may with as good reaſon be ſaid, that Lord Clarendon wrote the Hiſtory of the Grand Rebellion, with intent to teach ſchiſmatics, puritans, and republicans, how to murder their king.

The objections which have been ſtated, were the mere cavils of learned men, who hoped to gain reputation by the novelty of paradox. But paradox flutters for a ſhort time, and the voice of Truth is heard. *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* Tacitus may be fairly called the anatomiſt of the heart. The paſſions, and, if the expreſſion may be allowed, their antagoniſt muſcles were perfectly known to him; he ſaw their inward workings, however diſguiſed, and, being a ſtrong colouriſt, he has painted the prominent features of all that roſe to eminence by their vices or their virtue. As long as it ſhall be thought that *the proper ſtudy of mankind is man*, ſo long the Annals of Tacitus will be the ſchool of moral as well as political knowledge.

An account of our author's works, from their appearance after the revival of letters, will not be thought improper.

(1) See Life of Agricola, f. 46.

The firſt edition was publiſhed at Venice by John De Spira, in the year 1468, containing the ſix laſt books of the Annals, four books of the Hiſtory, with part of the fifth, the Treatiſe on the Manners of the Germans, and the Dialogue concerning Oratory. Another edition was publiſhed in a year or two after by Franciſcus Puteolanus, more correct and elegant than the former, with the addition of the Life of Agricola. The ſix firſt books of the Annals had not then been found. Diligent ſearch being made in all parts of Europe, they were at length diſcovered in the monaſtery of *Corwey* in *Weſtphalia*, ſituate on the banks of the *Viſurgis*, or the *Weſer* (1). Leo X. the great patron of letters, purchaſed that valuable treaſure, and, under his patronage,

(1) From the collection, called *Monumenta Paderborneyſia*, the following little Poem, in honour of the place where the ſix firſt Annals were found, has been ſelected, and will perhaps be acceptable to the reader. The VISURGIS (now the *Weſer*) ſays: "The AMISIUS (*Ems*) may now flow through a waſte of ſand; "and the LUPPIA (the *Lippe*) may receive the tributary waters of the *Pader*; "while I, the VISURGIS, waft the commerce of the world into the heart of "Germany. My banks have been ennobled by the overthrow of Roman legions, "and the brave exploits of the FRANCS. But, alas! what ſhould we now know "of the Romans, or of ARMINIUS, my own warlike chieftain, if Tacitus had "not recorded thoſe tranſactions, and if the *Abbey of Corwey* had not, in return "for immortal glory, given life to Tacitus himſelf?"

Exſerat Amiſius ſteriles caput inter arenas,
Et Paderæ ſocias Luppia jactet aquas;
Solus ego patrias clariſſimus amnis ad oras
Navibus externas porto Viſurgis opes.
Nec me bella minus celebrant adverſa Quiritum,
Quam quæ per Francos geſta fuêre duces.
Sed quota pars rerum ſuper eſſet, Roma, tuarum
Aut quis Arminii noſceret arma mei,
Ni mihi quam Tacitus ſcriptor dedit inclytus, illi
Reddita Corbeiæ munere vita foret?

Beroaldus,

Beroaldus, in the year 1515, gave the world a complete edition of the whole. The manuſcript, which had been found in Germany, was depoſited in the Florentine library. Lipſius, whoſe labours have done much ſervice to Tacitus, and great honour to himſelf, gave his edition at Antwerp, in the year 1574. He continued retouching and improving it, till death put an end to his ſtudies in 1606, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. Gronovius publiſhed the Text and a laboured Commentary in 1672. The Delphin edition made its appearance at Paris in 1682. Ryckius gave his Notes at Leyden in 1687. A better edition of that work was printed in Dublin in 1730. The grandſon of Gronovius gave an improved edition in 1721; but his coarſe abuſe of Ryckius, in the true ſtyle of a Dutch commentator, did him no honour. Erneſt, a native of Germany, obliged the learned world with two valuable editions, one in 1752, the ſecond in 1772. A beautiful edition by *Nicholas Lallemand* ſaw the light at Paris in 1759; but why the Dialogue concerning Eloquence was left out, no good reaſon was aſſigned.

At laſt, in the year 1771, was publiſhed at Paris, a noble edition of all the works of Tacitus, in four elegant quarto volumes, by GABRIEL BROTIER, with copious notes, and emendations of the original text, after a due examination of the manuſcripts in the Vatican, at Paris, Oxford, and other places. Another edition of the ſame work, in ſeven volumes 12mo, was publiſhed in 1776.

After this account of the editors, the tranſlators claim due notice. Almoſt all the nations of Europe have had

the ambition to make Tacitus a denizen of their country, and to hear him in their own language. The Germans and the Dutch boaſt of good tranſlations. Spain is proud of three tranſlators, and Italy has a greater number; but the voice of Fame gives the preference to *Davanzati*, who is celebrated for a curious felicity of expreſſion, that vies with the ſententious brevity of the original.

The firſt French tranſlation of any value was about the middle of the laſt century, by D'ABLANCOURT. His language is pure, elegant, and often nervous; but he took the liberty ſometimes to retrench, and, occaſionally, to vary the ſenſe of the original. The compoſition, however, flowed with ſo much eaſe and harmony, that the critics agreed to call it *La Belle Infidelle.*

AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE tranſlated thirteen books of the Annals; but his love of political reflection made him encumber his work with a load of notes, ſometimes valuable, often frivolous, and too minute. He died at Paris in 1706. The work was continued by FRANCIS BRUYS at the Hague, 1731; but, as it ſeems, without ſucceſs. Brotier ſays, that the laſt tranſlator reſembled the vices, not the virtues of his maſter: *Vitiis quam virtutibus ſimilior.*

The critics of France were not ſatisfied with the ſtate in which Tacitus was left. Their writers were determined to try their ſtrength; and, accordingly, a new tranſlation by GUERIN, profeſſor of eloquence in the univerſity of Paris, was ſent into the world in the year 1742. His work, though

though too looſe and paraphraſtical, may be read with pleaſure and advantage.

La Bletterie publiſhed a tranſlation of the Manners of the Germans, and the Life of Agricola, in the year 1755; and afterwards, in 1768, he added the ſix firſt Annals, with learned notes, but perhaps oſtentatious, and too much drawn into length. After the death of La Bletterie, Monſieur Dotteville, adopting part of his predeceſſor's work, gave a complete tranſlation of all Tacitus, except the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Dotteville had before him a model of cloſe tranſlation from the pen of D'Alembert, who gave ſelect paſſages from Tacitus, endeavouring in every ſentence to reach the preciſion and energy of the original. We ſee him, however, in a painful endeavour to vie with his author, and the ſtyle is harſh and dry.

The ſame may be ſaid of the celebrated Rouſſeau, who has left a tranſlation of the firſt book of the Hiſtory, written with elaborate brevity, and thoſe abrupt ſentences, which the French call, *ſtyle coupé*. We look in vain for the graceful eaſe that charms in the original works of that pleaſing author.

England has produced three tranſlations; the firſt in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Greenway and Sir Henry Saville; the ſecond, about one hundred years after, by Dryden and others; and the third by Gordon, under the patronage of Sir Robert Walpole. It were ſuperfluous to

ſay

ſay any thing of the two firſt tranſlations. Gordon, to make way for himſelf, was at the pains of collecting a multiplicity of paſſages; and, ſince he has ſufficiently abuſed them, peace be to their manes! With regard to Gordon, it is not the intention of the preſent writer to produce any ſpecimens of his performance; that were to offer a few bricks as a ſample of the building. Gordon ſhall be left to ſpeak for himſelf: he ſays, "Lord Carteret (afterwards Lord Granville), who underſtood Tacitus, and admired him, was pleaſed to think him not *unfit for it*, and gave him many juſt lights about the manner of *doing it*; that particularly about allowing himſelf *ſcope and freedom*, without which he was ſatisfied every tranſlation muſt be *pedantic and cold*." Thus encouraged, he employed himſelf in what he called *Conjectures concerning the preſent State of the Engliſh Tongue*, and kindly reſolved to offer ſome *Obſervations upon Style*, which, he found, was far from being generally underſtood, though ſo many *pretend to be judges of it*. Having beheld the ignorance of the Engliſh nation with an eye of compaſſion, Mr. Gordon was as good as his word, determined that the public ſhould have the benefit of his Reflections on the Engliſh Language. He ſays, "I have little complaiſance for thoſe who think (if any who underſtand Tacitus can poſſibly think) that the *common Engliſh ſtyle* will *at all* ſuit that *uncommon writer*, whoſe manner is as peculiar and as affecting as his thoughts. His ſentences are like PROVERBS, ſhort, lively, and ſelf-evident. Are PROVERBS, upon ſubjects of great dignity, uſually expreſſed in the ordinary ſtrain? Are they not therefore the more pathetic, and the more eaſily remembered, becauſe they are couched in a particular

"manner, turned *ſomething like poetry*, and ſometimes in *an-*
" *tiquated words*? Why is the language of the Book of Job,
" and of Iſaiah the Prophet, ſo much admired? Why is
" that of the *Proverbs of Solomon*, why that of the Son of
" Syrach, ſo much applauded? I will venture to ſay, that
" I have not expreſſed one phraſe in the whole tranſlation
" more remotely from the common way, than many of
" THOSE PROVERBS and SAYINGS are expreſſed; and though
" they be ſo expreſſed, nobody ever called them ſtiff, af-
" fected, or obſcure."

This was Gordon's grand ſecret, which he has generouſly communicated for the inſtruction of thoſe who pretended to be judges of ſtyle. His practice, we may be ſure, was conformable to his precepts. He ſays, " I have ſometimes " ventured upon a new phraſe (1), and *a way of my own*; " upon drawing the *Engliſh idiom as near as poſſible to that of* " *the Latin, and the genius of my author*, by leaving the " beaten road, *dropping particles, tranſpoſing words*, and ſome- " times *beginning a ſentence where it is uſual to end it.*" This ſurely may be called trying experiments upon language; but Gordon gives a notable reaſon for it: " No words upon " paper will have the ſame effect as words accompanied " with a voice, looks, and action: hence the thoughts and " language ſhould be ſo far raiſed as to ſupply the want of " thoſe advantages." In order, therefore, to give *colour and a body* to the thought, Gordon thought the unnatural ſtyle the beſt; to be ſtrong, he thought it neceſſary to be

(1) Nero was in love with Acte, an enfranchiſed ſlave: Gordon's new phraſe is, " He *fell into a paſſion for her.*"

uncouth

uncouth and turgid; to ſupply the want of a voice and action, he choſe to be diſtorted upon paper: and *in this way of his own* he was encouraged "by ſome of the greateſt "men of the age, who, convinced by the reaſons he had "offered, and having a perfect taſte of Tacitus, and under-"ſtanding him as a ſtateſman as well as a writer, were "abſolutely againſt any alterations in the manner of tranſ-"lating him." Mr. Gordon's friends might as well have told him, that no organs of ſpeech can pronounce, with proper emphaſis and energy, the ſublime ſentiments of Tacitus; and therefore, in reading him to a circle of his acquaintance, he ought to make faces. Gordon, moſt certainly, took the advice of his patrons; he imitated his favourite PROVERBS, and grimaced the language. The conſequence is, that he produced a tranſlation, in which one of the firſt writers of antiquity has been made, as Dr. Middleton expreſſes it, *to ſpeak ſuch Engliſh as an Engliſhman of taſte would be aſhamed to write on any original ſubject.*

A New Tranſlation is now ſubmitted to the Public. It will not become the Author to take up any time about himſelf or his performance. He has endeavoured to give a faithful tranſcript of the original, in *ſuch Engliſh* as an *Engliſhman of taſte* may read without diſguſt; and if, in the transfuſion, he has not ſuffered the ſpirit of Tacitus to evaporate, he will look back with pleaſure to the years which he has dedicated to a great and arduous undertaking.

THE

THE ANCIENT WORLD,

as Known to the Romans, Designed for the Works of *TACITUS*.

By Robert de Vaugondy,

Royal Geographer, and Fellow of the Royal Academy at Nancy.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

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Theſe tranſactions include almoſt two years.

rs of Rome	— of Chriſt	Conſuls.
767	14	*Sextus Pompeius, Sextus Apuleius.*
768	15	*Druſus Cæſar, C. Norbanus Flaccus.*

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK I.

I. THE firſt form of government that prevailed at Rome was monarchy *(a)*. Liberty and the conſulſhip were eſtabliſhed by Lucius Junius Brutus. Dictators were created in ſudden emergencies only. The juriſdiction of the decemvirs did not extend beyond two years; and the conſular authority of the military tribunes ſoon expired. The domination of Cinna ended in a ſhort time; and that of Sylla was not of long duration. From Pompey and Craſſus, the whole power of the ſtate devolved to Julius Cæſar, and, after the ſtruggle with Lepidus and Anthony, centered in Auguſtus; who, under the mild and well-known title of *(b)* PRINCE OF THE SENATE, took upon him the management of the commonwealth, enfeebled as it was by an exhauſting ſeries of civil wars. But the memorable tranſactions of the old

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old republic, as well in her day of adverſity, as in the tide of ſucceſs, have been recorded by writers of ſplendid genius. Even in the time of Auguſtus there flouriſhed a race of authors, from whoſe abilities that period might have received ample juſtice: but the ſpirit of adulation growing epidemic, the dignity of the hiſtoric character was loſt. What has been tranſmitted to us concerning Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, cannot be received without great miſtruſt. During the lives of thoſe emperors, fear ſuppreſſed or disfigured the truth; and after their deaths, recent feelings gave an edge to reſentment. For this reaſon, it is my intention ſhortly to ſtate ſome particulars relating to Auguſtus, chiefly towards the cloſe of his life; and thence to follow downward the thread of my narration through the reigns of Tiberius and his three immediate ſucceſſors, free from animoſity and partial affection, with the candour of a man who has no motives, either of love or hatred, to warp his integrity.

II. THE fate of Brutus and Caſſius *(a)* being decided, the commonwealth had no longer an army engaged in the cauſe of public liberty. The younger Pompey received a total overthrow on the coaſt of Sicily; Lepidus was deprived of his legions; and Marc Anthony fell on his own ſword. In that ſituation the partiſans of Julius Cæſar had no leader but Octavius, who laid aſide the invidious title of Triumvir, content with the more popular name of Conſul, and with the tribunitian *(b)* power, which he profeſſed to aſſume for the protection of the people. In a little time, when he had allured to his intereſt the ſoldiery by a profuſion of largeſſes, the people by diſtributions of corn, and the minds of men in general by the ſweets of peace, his views grew more aſpiring. By degrees, and almoſt imperceptibly, he drew into his own hands the authority of the ſenate, the functions of the magiſtrates, and the adminiſtration of the laws. To theſe encroach-

ments no oppoſition was made. The true republican had periſhed, either in the field of battle, or by the rigour of proſcriptions: of the remaining nobility, the leading men were raiſed to wealth and honours, in proportion to the alacrity with which they courted the yoke; and all who in the diſtraction of the times had riſen to affluence, preferred immediate eaſe and ſafety to the danger of contending for ancient freedom. The provinces acquieſced under the new eſtabliſhment, weary of the mixed authority of the ſenate and people; a mode of government long diſtracted by contentions among the great, and in the end rendered intolerable by the avarice of public magiſtrates; while the laws afforded a feeble remedy, diſturbed by violence, defeated by intrigue, and undermined by bribery and corruption.

III. In this ſtate of affairs, Auguſtus ſelected Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Agrippa, to prop and ſtrengthen his adminiſtration. The former, who was his ſiſter's ſon *(a)*, and ſtill a youth, he raiſed to the dignity of pontiff and ædile: on the latter, by his birth obſcure, but eminent for military talents, and the companion of all his victories, he conferred the honour of two ſucceſſive conſulſhips; and in a ſhort time after, upon the untimely death *(b)* of Marcellus, choſe him for his ſon-in-law. Tiberius Nero and Claudius Druſus, the ſons of his wife Livia, were adorned with the title of Imperator *(c)*, though the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Auguſtus was at that time well ſecured by other branches of the houſe of Cæſar. He had already adopted into the imperial family Caius and Lucius, the two ſons of Agrippa; and to ſee them, even before they had put on the manly gown, conſidered as princes of the Roman youth, and marked out as future conſuls, was his ardent deſire; though, for political reaſons, he choſe to diſguiſe his ſentiments. To obtain thoſe honours for his family was the wiſh of his heart; while, under a ſhew of coy reluctance,

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reluctance, he ſeemed to reject them. Agrippa departed this life; and in a ſhort time after his two ſons were cut off; Lucius Cæſar *(d)* on his road to join the army in Spain; and Caius on his return from Armenia, where he had received a wound that impaired his health. Whether they died by their own premature fate, or the machinations of their ſtep-mother Livia, is to this day problematical. Druſus had paid his debt to nature, leaving Tiberius the only ſurviving ſon-in-law of the emperor. The current of court favour was now directed that way. He was adopted by Auguſtus, declared his colleague in the government, his aſſociate in the tribunitian power, and ſhewn as the riſing ſun to the army; not, as before, by the ſecret arts of Livia, but with her open and avowed direction. Auguſtus was now in the decline of life, and Livia had gained unbounded influence over his affections. By her contrivance Agrippa Poſthumus *(e)*, the only ſurviving grandſon of the emperor, was baniſhed to the iſle of Planaſia *(f)*. In praiſe of this young man much cannot be ſaid: he was a ſtranger to the liberal arts, uncouth, unformed, and ſtupidly valuing himſelf on his bodily ſtrength; yet free from vice, or the imputation of a crime.

At this time Germanicus, the immediate deſcendant of Druſus, was appointed to the command of eight legions on the Rhine. By the emperor's directions Tiberius adopted him as his ſon, though he had then iſſue of his own *(g)* growing up to manhood. The policy, no doubt, was to guard the ſucceſſion with additional ſecurities. Auguſtus, in that juncture, had no war upon his hands, that in Germany excepted; which was carried on, not with a view to extenſion of empire, or any ſolid advantage, but ſolely to expiate the diſgrace incurred by the loſs of Varus *(h)* and his legions. A perfect calm prevailed at Rome: the magiſtrates retained their ancient names; the younger part of the commu-

community were born ſince the battle at Actium *(i)*, and the old during the civil wars: how many were then living, who had ſeen the conſtitution of their country?

IV. THE government thus overthrown, nothing remained of ancient manners, or ancient ſpirit. Of independence, or the equal condition *(a)* of Roman citizens, no trace was left. All ranks ſubmitted to the will of the prince, little ſolicitous about the preſent hour; while Auguſtus, in the vigour of health, maintained at once his own dignity, the honour of his houſe, and the public tranquillity. In proceſs of time, when, worn with age, and failing under bodily infirmities, he ſeemed to approach the laſt act, a new ſcene preſented itſelf to the hopes of men. Some amuſed themſelves with ideas of ancient liberty, many dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and others wiſhed for public commotion; the greater part diſcuſſed, with a variety of opinions, the character of the new maſters at that moment impending over the ſtate. "Agrippa was rude and ſavage; diſgrace added to his natural "ferocity; and, in point of age and experience, he was by no "means equal to the weight of empire. Tiberius was matured "by years; he had gained reputation in war: but the pride of the "Claudian *(b)* family was inveterate in his nature, and his inbred "cruelty, however ſuppreſſed with art, announced itſelf in various "ſhapes. Trained up in the imperial houſe, in the very boſom "of deſpotiſm, he had been inured from his youth to the pomp "and pride of conſulſhips and triumphs. During the years "which he paſſed in a ſeeming retreat, but real exile, in the "iſle of Rhodes *(c)*, he meditated nothing ſo much as plans of "future vengeance, clandeſtine pleaſures, and the arts of diſſimu-"lation." To theſe reflections the public added their dread of a mother raging with all the impotence of female ambition: a whole

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people, they ſaid, were to be enſlaved by a woman, and two young men *(d)*, who in the beginning would hang heavy on the ſtate, and in the end diſtract and rend it to pieces by their own diſſenſions.

V. WHILE theſe and other obſervations of a ſimilar nature employed the public mind, the health of Auguſtus declined apace. The wickedneſs of his wife was not ſuppoſed to remain inactive. A rumour prevailed, that Auguſtus had gone a few months before, in a private manner, with a ſelect party, and Fabius Maximus, his confidential friend, to the iſland of Planaſia, on a viſit to Agrippa. The meeting was ſaid to be of the tendereſt nature: tears were ſhed by both, and a ſcene of mutual affection followed. From that interview hopes were conceived, that the young prince would be once more reſtored to the favour and protection of his grandfather. The ſecret ſoon tranſpired: Fabius communicated the whole to his wife Marcia, and by her it was conveyed to Livia. Auguſtus knew that he had been betrayed. Maximus died ſoon after, perhaps, by his own hand: but of that nothing can be ſaid with certainty. At his funeral Marcia was heard, in the vehemence of diſtreſs and ſorrow, to accuſe herſelf of being acceſſary to the death of her huſband. However that may be, Tiberius had ſcarcely ſet foot in Illyricum, when he received diſpatches from his mother, requiring his immediate preſence. He arrived at Nola: but whether Auguſtus was ſtill living, or had breathed his laſt, muſt be left in doubt. By Livia's order the palace and all the avenues were cloſely guarded: favourable accounts were iſſued from time to time; and with that artifice mankind was amuſed, till all proper meaſures were concerted. At length the ſame report that announced the death of Auguſtus, proclaimed Tiberius in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power.

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VI. THE firſt exploit of the new reign was the murder of Agrippa Poſthumus. A centurion of undaunted reſolution attacked him by ſurpriſe. Though unprovided with arms, the young man did not eaſily yield: he fell after a ſtout reſiſtance. Of this event Tiberius made no report to the ſenate, content with hinting a pretended order of his deceaſed father, by which the centurion, charged with the cuſtody of Agrippa's perſon, was commanded to diſpatch him, as ſoon as the emperor breathed his laſt. Auguſtus, it is true, had arraigned the character and conduct of the young man in terms of aſperity; he had even baniſhed him by a decree of the ſenate: but it is equally true, that he never imbrued his hands in the blood of his kindred; nor is it probable that, for the ſecurity of a ſtep-ſon, he would have doomed to death a deſcendant from himſelf. The ſtronger preſumption is, that Tiberius and Livia, the former impelled by his dread of a rival, and the latter by the malice of a ſtep-mother, were accomplices in the murder. When the aſſaſſin, in the military phraſe, reported to Tiberius, that what he had given in orders was duly executed, the reply of the new emperor was, that he had given no ſuch orders, and for what was done the centurion muſt anſwer before the ſenate.

A diſavowal ſo very extraordinary gave the alarm to *(a)* Salluſtius Criſpus, a miniſter then in favour, and truſted with the ſecrets of the court. The warrant for the execution had paſſed through his hands. He dreaded a public examination; well aware that, whether he diſcloſed the truth, or attempted to diſguiſe it, his own danger would, in either caſe, be preciſely the ſame. To ward off the blow, he remonſtrated to Livia, that the ſecret councils of the imperial family, the conduct of miniſters, and the actions of the centurions, ought to be veiled from the public eye. By referring too much to the ſenate, the prince

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would weaken his own authority: that men ſhould be accountable to the ſovereign only, was a branch of the imperial prerogative; and if Tiberius departed from it, he ceaſed to reign.

VII. At Rome, in the mean time, all things tended to a ſtate of abject ſervitude. Conſuls, ſenators, and Roman knights contended with emulation, who ſhould be the moſt willing ſlaves. The higher each perſon's rank, the more he ſtruggled for the foremoſt place in bondage. All appeared with a ſtudied countenance. An air of gaiety might diſhonour the memory of Auguſtus, and ſadneſs would ill befit the opening of a new reign. A motley farce was acted; and grief and joy, diſtreſs and flattery, ſucceeding by turns, were curiouſly mixed and blended. The oath of *(a)* fidelity to Tiberius was taken firſt by the two conſuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, and by them adminiſtered to Seius Strabo and Caius *(b)* Turranius; the former, præfect of the prætorian bands; the latter, controller of the corn and public ſtores. Their example was followed by the ſenate, the army, and the maſs of the people.

To make every thing move from the conſuls, was the policy of Tiberius. He affected the appearance of republican principles, as if the conſtitution ſtill ſubſiſted, and he himſelf had formed no deſign to deſtroy it. The very proclamation, by which he convened the ſenate, profeſſed no other authority than that of the tribunitian power conferred upon him by Auguſtus. The proclamation itſelf was ſhort, and penned in modeſt terms; importing, "that the buſineſs of the meeting was, to decree funeral honours "to his deceaſed father: as to himſelf, he could not leave the "body; that office of piety was the only function that he pre-"ſumed to exerciſe." This was, indeed, the language of moderation; but Auguſtus was no ſooner dead, than he aſſumed the ſupreme

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ſupreme authority: in his character of imperator, he took upon him the whole military command; he gave the word to the prætorian *(c)* guards; ſentinels were ſtationed round the palace; the ſoldiers appeared under arms; the magnificence of a court was ſeen in all its forms; guards attended him to the forum; guards conducted him to the ſenate-houſe; all things announced the *(d)* ſovereign. In his diſpatches to the army, he was already the ſucceſſor of Auguſtus: he ſpoke the ſtyle and language of a recognized emperor, without reſerve, and in the tone of power, equivocal only when he addreſſed the ſenate.

The fact was, Tiberius dreaded Germanicus. A commander in chief, who had ſo many legions under his direction, who had formed connections with the allies of Rome, and was beſides the idol of the people, might chooſe to ſeize the government, rather than linger in expectation. For this reaſon the fathers were to be managed. There was at the bottom another motive: if, in appearance, he owed his elevation, not to the intrigues of an ambitious mother, or the adoption of a ſuperannuated emperor, but to the voice of the people, it would redound more to his glory. The opportunity was alſo fair to pry into the temper and diſpoſitions of the leading ſenators. The event ſhewed that his indeciſion was policy in diſguiſe. He noted the words of men; he watched their looks; warped every circumſtance into a crime; and, hoarding all in his memory, gathered rancour for a future day.

VIII. At the firſt meeting of the ſenate, the funeral of Auguſtus was the only ſubject of debate. The emperor's will was brought forward by the *(a)* veſtal virgins. Tiberius and Livia were declared his heirs. The latter was adopted into the Julian family, with the additional title of Augusta. His grandchildren and their iſſue were next in ſucceſſion; in the third degree

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he named the nobles of Rome: not indeed from motives of perſonal regard, for the greater part had been for a long time obnoxious; but a bequeſt ſo generous and magnificent might gain the applauſe of future ages. In the reſt of his legacies the will was in the ſtyle of a Roman citizen: if we except the clauſes, whereby he gave to the Roman people four hundred thouſand great ſeſterces *(b)*, to the inferior commonalty five-and-thirty thouſand, to each prætorian ſoldier one thouſand ſmall ſeſterces, and to every common man belonging to the legions three hundred, he affected neither pomp nor grandeur. The will being read, the funeral honours were taken into conſideration. The chief propoſitions were, that *the proceſſion ſhould paſs through the triumphal gate;* this was moved by Aſinius Gallus: *that the titles of all the laws of Auguſtus, and the names of the conquered nations, ſhould be carried before the body*, was the motion of Lucius Arruntius. Valerius Meſſala was of opinion, that *the oath of fidelity to Tiberius ſhould be renewed every year;* and being thereupon interrogated by the prince, whether that motion was made with his privity? *I made it*, ſaid Meſſala, *upon my own ſuggeſtion; in matters of public concern, however it may give umbrage, the conviction of my own heart ſhall be the only rule of my conduct.* The age had left no other mode of flattery. The ſenate with one voice inſiſted, that the body ſhould be borne to the funeral pile upon their own ſhoulders. Tiberius aſſented with ſeeming condeſcenſion, but real arrogance. The Field of Mars was the place appointed for the ceremony. A proclamation was iſſued, warning the populace to reſtrain their zeal, and not require that the laſt duties ſhould be performed in the Forum, as had been done with tumult and diſorder at the funeral of Julius Cæſar.

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the ſoldiers were drawn up under arms; a circumſtance that ſerved only to provoke

the ridicule of all who remembered the day, or heard of it from their fathers, when Cæſar the dictator was put to death. In that early period of ſlavery, and in the firſt emotions of joy for liberty in vain recovered, the blow for freedom ſeemed a murder to ſome, and to others a glorious ſacrifice. But in the preſent juncture, when a prince worn out with age, who had grown grey in power, and left a long train of heirs, was to receive the laſt funeral obſequies, at ſuch a time to call forth the military, in order to ſecure a quiet interment, was a vain parade, as ridiculous as it was unneceſſary.

IX. AUGUSTUS now became the ſubject of public diſcuſſion. Frivolous circumſtances engaged the attention of the greater number. They obſerved that the anniverſary of his acceſſion to the imperial dignity, was the day of his death. He died at Nola, in the ſame houſe, and in the ſame chamber, where Octavius his father breathed his laſt. They called to mind, in wonder and amaze, the number of his *(a)* conſulſhips, equal to thoſe of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Marius put together. The Tribunitian power continued in his hands during a ſeries of ſeven-and-thirty years; he was ſaluted IMPERATOR no leſs than one-and-twenty times; and other titles of diſtinction were either invented or revived, to adorn his name. Reflections of a different kind were made by thinking men. They rejudged the life of the emperor, and pronounced with freedom. By his apologiſts it was argued, "that filial piety to his adoptive father, the diſtraction of "the times, and the ruin of the laws, made the part he took in "the civil wars an act of neceſſity; and civil war can neither be "undertaken nor conducted on principles of honour and ſtrict "juſtice. To revenge the death of Julius Cæſar, was the primary "motive. To obtain that end, he made conceſſions to Anthony, "and he temporized with Lepidus: but when the latter grew

"grey

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"grey in ſloth, and the former fell a victim to his voluptuous "paſſions, the commonwealth, convulſed by party diviſions, had "no reſource but the government of one. There was, however, "no monarchy, no dictator: content with the unaſſuming title "of Prince of the Senate, he eſtabliſhed peace, and ſettled the "conſtitution. The ocean and far diſtant rivers *(b)* marked the "boundaries of the empire. The legions, the provinces, and the "fleets of Rome acted in concert, with all the ſtrength of ſyſtem. "Juſtice was duly adminiſtered at home; the allies were treated "with moderation; and magnificent ſtructures roſe to adorn the "capital. Violent meaſures were rarely adopted, and never but "for the good of the whole."

X. To this it was anſwered, "Filial piety, and the diſtraction "of the times, were nothing but a colour to varniſh over the luſt "of dominion. It was the ambition of Auguſtus that gained the "veterans by a profuſion of largeſſes; it was ambition that raiſed "an army, when he was yet a young man, and in a private ſta- "tion. By bribery and corruption he ſeduced to himſelf the forces "of the conſuls. To the friends of Pompey's party he wore a "maſk, affecting republican principles: he deceived the ſenate; "and by an extorted decree poſſeſſed himſelf of the faſces, and "the prætorian authority. How long did the conſuls Hirtius "and Panſa *(a)* ſurvive that event? They were both cut off. "Did they fall by the hand of the enemy? Who can be certain "that Panſa did not die by poiſon infuſed into his wound, and "Hirtius by the treachery of his own ſoldiers? If that was their "fate, is it clear that Auguſtus was not an actor in that ſcene of "iniquity? That he put himſelf at the head of both their armies, "is a fact well known. Having extorted the conſulſhip *(b)* "from a reluctant ſenate, he threw off the maſk, and turned "againſt the commonwealth the arms which had been entruſted

"to

"to him in the cauſe of liberty againſt Mark Anthony *(c)*. "What ſhall be ſaid of the fury of proſcriptions? He ſeized the "lands of Roman citizens *(d)*, and divided them among his "creatures. Theſe were acts of violence, to this hour unjuſtified "even by thoſe who adviſed the meaſure.

"To atone for the death of a father, Brutus and Caſſius fell a "ſacrifice: ſo far, perhaps, may be allowed; but whether that "deadly feud, when the good of the commonwealth required it, "might not have been, to his immortal honour, appeaſed in ſilence, "may ſtill be made a queſtion. Be it as it may, the younger "Pompey was ruined by an inſidious peace, and Lepidus was "undone by treachery. Mark Anthony relied upon the treaties "of Tarentum *(e)* and Brunduſium: he went further; he mar-"ried the ſiſter of Auguſtus; and, in conſequence of that inſidious "alliance, loſt his life. Peace, it is true, was ſoon after eſtabliſh-"ed: but what kind of peace? The ſlaughter of Lollius *(f)* and "Varus ſtained it in Germany; and the maſſacre of the Varros *(g)*, "the Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of blood."

From the public conduct of Auguſtus, a tranſition was made to his domeſtic character. "Livia was taken by force from "Tiberius Nero, her lawful huſband; ſhe was then advanced in "her pregnancy: whether in that condition ſhe was under a "legal diſability to contract a ſecond marriage, was indeed re-"ferred to the pontifical college; but that very reference was a "mockery, that turned all religion to a jeſt. His two favourites, "Quintus Tedius *(h)* and Vedius Pollio, were diſtinguiſhed by no-"thing but riot and debauchery. To crown the whole, Livia ruled "him with unbounded ſway; to the commonwealth a fatal em-"preſs, and to the Cæſarian family a pernicious ſtep-mother. The "honours due to the gods were no longer ſacred: Auguſtus *(i)*

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"claimed equal worſhip. Temples were built, and ſtatues were "erected, to him: a mortal man was adored, and prieſts and pon- "tiffs were appointed to pay him impious homage. In calling "Tiberius to the ſucceſſion, he neither acted from motives of "private affection, nor of regard for the public welfare. He "knew the arrogance and innate cruelty of the man, and from "the contraſt hoped to derive new luſtre on himſelf." That he knew the inward frame and caſt of Tiberius, appears from a fact that happened a few years before. The buſineſs of granting to that prince a renewal of the tribunitian power, was depending in the ſenate. Auguſtus, in his ſpeech upon that occaſion, made honourable mention of him; but, at the ſame time, threw out oblique reflections on his conduct, his deportment, and his manners. With affected tenderneſs he ſeemed willing to palliate all defects; but the malice of the apology wounded the deeper.

XI. THE rites of ſepulture being performed, a temple and religious worſhip were decreed to the memory of Auguſtus. The ſenate now turned their ſupplications to Tiberius. A direct anſwer could not be drawn from him. "He talked of the mag- "nitude and the weight of empire; he miſtruſted his own abi- "lities: the comprehenſive mind of Auguſtus was, indeed, equal "to the charge; but for himſelf, called as he had been by that "emperor to a ſhare in the adminiſtration, he knew by expe- "rience, that, to direct the affairs of a great nation, was to be in a "ſtate of painful pre-eminence, expoſed to danger, and ſubject to "the viciſſitudes of fortune. In a city ſo well provided with men "of illuſtrious character, was it adviſable to confide the whole "to a ſingle ruler? The ſeveral departments of public buſineſs "would be better filled by a coalition of the beſt and ableſt citizens." In this ſtrain Tiberius delivered himſelf, with dignity of ſentiment,

ment, it is true, but nothing from the heart. A profound maſter of diſſimulation, he had from nature, or the force of habit, the art of being dark and unintelligible. Even upon occaſions when duplicity was uſeleſs, he ſpoke in ſhort and broken hints, the ſenſe ſuſpended, myſterious, and indeciſive. Intending at preſent to conceal his ſentiments *(a)*, he was of courſe more involved than ever. The ſenators, dreading nothing ſo much as the crime of knowing his character, broke out in a ſtrain of ſupplication; they melted into tears; they poured forth entreaties; with uplifted hands they looked to the gods; they turned to the ſtatue of Auguſtus, and at times fell proſtrate at the knees of Tiberius. Thus ſurrounded, he called for a ſtate-paper, and ordered it to be read *(b)*. It ſet forth an eſtimate of the empire and its reſources, the number of citizens, the allies of Rome, an account of the naval ſtrength, the names of the conquered kingdoms and provinces; the ſubſidies, tributes, and the amount of the revenue, with the neceſſary diſburſements of government, and the demands for ſecret ſervice. The whole was in the hand-writing of Auguſtus. It concluded with his advice, never to aim at an extenſion of empire: an important rule of policy; but was it the reſult of wiſdom? or did he view with a malignant eye the fame that might accrue to his ſucceſſor?

XII. The ſenate ſtill continuing, with proſtrate ſervility, to preſs their ſuit, Tiberius let fall an expreſſion, intimating that, though unequal to the whole, he was willing to undertake any part that might be committed to his care. Inform us, Cæſar, ſaid Aſinius Gallus *(a)*, what part do you chuſe? Diſconcerted by ſo unexpected a queſtion, Tiberius pauſed for a moment; but ſoon collecting himſelf, "To chuſe," he ſaid, "or to decline any part, would ill become the man who "wiſhed to be diſpenſed with altogether." Gallus ſaw diſpleaſure working in his countenance. With quickneſs and preſence

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of mind he made anſwer, "The queſtion was not put with in-"tent to divide what in its nature is united and indiviſible. I ap-"pealed to your own feelings. I wiſhed to draw from you a "confeſſion, that the commonwealth, being one body politic, re-"quires one mind to direct it." To this he added a panegyric on the character of Auguſtus; he expatiated on the victories obtained by Tiberius, and the civil employments which he had filled, with honour to himſelf, during a ſeries of years. But this ſoothing ſtrain had no effect. The reſentment of Tiberius was not to be pacified. Aſinius Gallus had married Vipſania *(b)*, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, after her divorce from Tiberius. By that connection he ſeemed to aſpire above the rank of a citizen; and the ſpirit of his father, Aſinius Pollio, was ſtill living in the ſon.

XIII. Lucius Arruntius *(a)* delivered his ſentiments, nearly the ſame as Gallus had offered, and in like manner gave offence. Tiberius harboured in his breaſt no lurking reſentment to Arruntius; but he was jealous of a man, whom he ſaw flouriſhing in opulence, an ardent ſpirit, poſſeſſed of talents, and high in the eſteem of the public. Auguſtus, moreover, in a converſation not long before his death, talking of the ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity, diſtinguiſhed three ſeveral claſſes: in the firſt, he placed ſuch as were worthy, but would decline the honour; in the ſecond, men of ambition, but of inferior talents; in the laſt, ſuch as had genius to plan, and courage to undertake. Marcus Lepidus *(b)*, he ſaid, was every way qualified, but unwilling; Aſinius Gallus had more ambition than merit; Lucius Arruntius was not only equal to the taſk, but, if occaſion offered, would ſhew a ſpirit of enterpriſe. Of this anecdote, with regard to the two firſt, no doubt remains; but inſtead of Arruntius, Cneius Piſo by ſome writers is ſaid to have been named. Except Lepidus, they were afterwards all cut off for conſtructive crimes, artfully laid to their charge by Tiberius.

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rius. In the courſe of the debate, Quintus Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus had the misfortune to alarm that gloomy and ſuſpicious temper: the firſt, by aſking "How long is it your pleaſure, "Cæſar, that the commonwealth ſhall want a head to direct it?" Scaurus, by ſaying, "Since the prince has not interpoſed the tri- "bunitian *(c)* authority to prevent the report of the conſuls, there "is room to hope that he will yield to the entreaties of the ſe- "nate." Tiberius took fire at what was ſaid by Haterius, and broke out with ſudden vehemence: to Scaurus he made no reply; reſentment had taken root in his heart, and for that reaſon was ſmothered in ſilence.

Fatigued at length by the clamours of the ſenate, and the ſolicitation of individuals, he gave way by degrees: not expreſsly declaring his conſent; but, as he ſaid, to end the mutual trouble of repeated refuſals and unwearied importunity. It may be related as a fact, that Haterius, on the following day, attending at the palace, to mitigate reſentment by an apology, narrowly eſcaped being put to death by the guards. In a ſuppliant poſture he claſped the emperor's knees; and in that moment Tiberius, entangled perhaps by the petitioner, or making a falſe ſtep, fell to the ground. This provoked the ſoldiers upon duty. Haterius was ſaved from their fury: but the danger that threatened a man of his illuſtrious character, made no impreſſion on the prince; nor did he relent till Livia exerted all her power and influence. Tiberius yielded at length to the ſolicitations of his mother.

XIV. THE ſenate, at their next meeting, began to offer the incenſe of adulation to Livia. It was propoſed to confer upon her the title of PARENT; that name was thought too general: the more diſtinctive appellation of MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY was moved as an amendment. It was further propoſed, with the general

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neral concurrence, that to the name of the Emperor ſhould be added, THE SON OF JULIA. Tiberius oppoſed theſe ſeveral motions: honours, he ſaid, ought not to be laviſhed on women; in what regarded his own rank, he was determined to act with the ſtricteſt ſelf-denial. This had the appearance of moderation, but envy was the ſource. By the honours intended to his mother, he thought his own glory might be eclipſed, and, in that ſpirit, prevented a decree, by which a lictor *(a)* was ordered to attend her; nor would he ſuffer an altar *(b)* to be raiſed on account of her adoption into the Julian family. Other marks of diſtinction were propoſed, and rejected. Germanicus was more favourably treated: for him Tiberius deſired the rank of proconſul *(c)*. Special meſſengers were ſent to inveſt him with his honours, and at the ſame time to condole with him on the loſs of Auguſtus. Druſus *(d)* was then at Rome; and, being conſul deſigned, in his favour nothing new was demanded. By virtue of the imperial prerogative, twelve candidates were named for the prætorſhip. That number had been ſettled by Auguſtus; and though the ſenate entreated Tiberius to enlarge the liſt, he bound himſelf by an oath never to exceed *(e)* the line already drawn.

XV. THE right of electing magiſtrates, by public ſuffrage, in the Field of Mars *(a)*, was now, for the firſt time, taken from the people at large, and veſted in the ſenate. The will of the prince had, before that time, great influence in all elections; but parties were formed among the tribes, and ſometimes with ſucceſs. To this encroachment the people made no oppoſition: they ſaw their rights taken from them; they grumbled, and ſubmitted. The ſenators were pleaſed with the change. They were now delivered from the neceſſity of humiliating condeſcenſions in the courſe of their canvaſs, and from the heavy expence of bribery and corruption. The moderation of Tiberius was a further circumſtance in favour of the

the meaſure: four candidates of his nomination were implicitly to be choſen, without intrigue or contention; and the prince, content with that number, promiſed not to ſtretch his prerogative. The tribunes of the people applied for leave to celebrate, at their own expence, the games newly inſtituted in honour of Auguſtus, and ordered to be added to the calendar, under the title of Auguſtan Games. A decree paſſed; but the expence was to iſſue out of the treaſury. The tribunes were allowed to preſide in the Circus, dreſſed in *(b)* triumphal robes, but the pomp of ſplendid chariots was expreſsly denied. The annual celebration of thoſe games was afterwards transferred, from the tribunes, to that particular prætor who has juriſdiction in all cauſes between *(c)* ſtrangers and the citizens of Rome.

XVI. SUCH was the ſituation of affairs at Rome, when a fierce and violent mutiny broke out among the legions in Pannonia. For this inſurrection there was no other motive than the licentious ſpirit, which is apt to ſhew itſelf in the beginning of a new reign, and the hope of private advantage in the diſtractions of a civil war. A ſummer-camp had been formed for three legions, under the command of Junius Blæſus. The death of Auguſtus, and the acceſſion of Tiberius, being known to the army, the General granted a ſuſpenſion of *(a)* military duty, as an interval of grief or joy. The ſoldiers grew wanton in idleneſs; diſſenſions ſpread amongſt them; the vile and profligate had their circular audiences; ſloth and pleaſure prevailed; and all were willing to exchange a life of toil and diſcipline, for repoſe and luxury. There happened to be in the camp a buſy incendiary, by name Percennius, formerly a leader of theatrical factions *(b)*, and now a common ſoldier; a man fluent in words, and by his early habits verſed in the arts of exciting tumult and ſedition. Over the weak and ignorant, and ſuch as felt their minds alarmed with doubts

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and fears about the future condition of the ſervice, this pragmatical fellow began to exert his influence. In the dead of night he mixed in cabals; and never failed at the cloſe of day, when the ſober and well diſpoſed retired to their tents, to draw together the idle and moſt abandoned. Having gained a number of proſelytes, he ſtood forth the orator of ſedition, and harangued his confederates in the following manner:

XVII. "How long, my fellow ſoldiers, muſt we obey a "ſmall and deſpicable ſet of centurions? how long continue "ſlaves to a wretched band of military tribunes? If we mean to "redreſs our grievances, what time ſo fit as the preſent, when the "new emperor is not yet ſettled on his throne? Relief may now "be obtained either by remonſtrances, or ſword in hand. By "our paſſive ſpirit we have ſuffered enough; we have been ſlaves "in thirty or forty *(a)* campaigns; we are grown grey in the "ſervice, worn out with infirmities, and covered with wounds. "In that condition we are ſtill condemned to the toils of "war. Even the men who have obtained their diſcharge, ſtill "follow the ſtandard, under the name of veterans *(b)*; another "word for protracted miſery. A few, indeed, by their bodily "vigour have ſurmounted all their labours; but what is their re-"ward? they are ſent to diſtant regions; and, under colour of an "allotment of lands, they are ſettled on a barren mountain, or "a ſwampy fen. War of itſelf is a ſtate of the vileſt drudgery, "without an adequate compenſation. The life and limb of a ſoldier "are valued at *(c)* ten pence a day: out of that wretched pittance "he muſt find his clothing, his tent equipage, and his arms; with "that fund, he muſt bribe the centurion; with that, muſt "purchaſe occaſional exemptions from ſervice; and, with that, "muſt pay for a remiſſion of puniſhment. But blows and ſtripes "from our officers, wounds from the enemy, intenſe cold in "winter,

" winter, and the fatigue of ſummer-campaigns; deſtructive war, " in which every thing is hazarded, and peace, by which nothing " is gained, are all the ſoldier's portion.

" For theſe evils there is but one remedy left. Let us fix the " conditions of our ſervice; let every ſoldier receive a denarius *(d)* " a day, and at the end of ſixteen years let him be entitled to " his diſmiſſion: beyond that term no further ſervice. Without " detaining any man whatever, and without forcing him to follow " the colours as a veteran, let every ſoldier receive the arrears that " may be due to him; let him be paid in ready money on the " ſpot, and in the very camp where he ſignalized his valour. " The prætorian cohorts receive two denarii for their daily pay; " at the end of ſixteen years they return to their families: and " is ſuperior merit the ground of this diſtinction? do they en- " counter greater dangers? It is theirs to mount guard within the " city, and the ſervice may be honourable; but it is our lot to " ſerve amidſt ſavage nations, in a ſtate of perpetual warfare. If " we look out of our tents, the barbarians are in view."

XVIII. THIS ſpeech was received with acclamations. Various paſſions heaved in every breaſt. Some preſented their bodies ſeamed with ſtripes; others pointed to their heads grown grey in the ſervice; numbers ſhewed their tattered clothing, and their perſons almoſt naked. At length the phrenzy of the malecontents knew no bounds. Their firſt deſign was to incorporate the three legions into one; but which ſhould give its name to the united body, was the queſtion: mutual jealouſy put an end to the project. Another ſcheme took place: the eagles of the three legions, with the colours of the cohorts, were crowded together without preference or diſtinction. They threw up ſods of earth, and began to raiſe a tribunal. Amidſt the tumult Blæſus arrived:

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he called aloud to all; he laid hold of individuals; he offered himſelf to their ſwords; and "Here," he ſaid, "behold your victim: "imbrue your hands in the blood of your general. Murder is "a crime leſs horrible than treaſon to your prince. I will either "live to command the legions entruſted to me: or, if you are "determined to revolt, diſpatch me firſt; that, when this phrenzy "is over, you may wake to ſhame, to horror, and remorſe."

XIX. THE work of raiſing a tribunal, in ſpite of all his efforts, ſtill went on. Heaps of turf were thrown up, and roſe breaſt-high. Conquered at length by the perſeverance of their general, the mutineers deſiſted. Blæſus exerted all his eloquence: "Se-"dition and revolt," he ſaid, "could not ſerve their cauſe: the "remonſtrances of the army ought to be conveyed to the ear of "the prince with reſpect and deference. The demands which "they now made were of the firſt impreſſion, unknown to former "armies, and with the deified Auguſtus never attempted. In "the preſent juncture, when the prince was new to the cares of "government, was that a time to add to his ſolicitude by tumult "and inſurrection? If they would ſtill perſiſt, in the ſeaſon of "profound peace, to urge a claim never demanded even by the "conquerors in a civil war, why incur the guilt of rebellion? "why, in violation of all military diſcipline, urge their preten-"ſions ſword in hand? They might depute their agents to treat "with the prince; and, in the preſence of their general, they "might give their inſtructions on the ſpot." This propoſal was accepted: with one voice they called out for the ſon of Blæſus, then a military tribune. The young officer undertook the charge. His directions were to inſiſt that, at the expiration of ſixteen years, the ſoldier ſhould be diſcharged from the ſervice. That point ſettled, it would then be time to enumerate other griev-ances. With this commiſſion the general's ſon went forward on his

his journey. A calm ſucceeded, and laſted for ſome days. But the minds of the ſoldiers were ſtill in agitation: their pride was rouſed; the general's ſon was now the orator of the army; and force, it was manifeſt, had at length extorted, what by gentle meaſures could never be obtained.

XX. MEANWHILE, the detached companies *(a)* which before the diſturbance had been ſent to Nauportum to repair the roads, the bridges, and other military works, having heard of the commotions in the camp, ſeized the colours; and, after ravaging the adjacent villages, plundered Nauportum, a place little inferior to a municipal town. They treated the centurions with deriſion; from deriſion they proceeded to opprobrious language; and, in the end, to blows and open violence. Auſidienus Rufus, the præfect of the camp, was the chief object of their fury: they dragged him out of his carriage; and, laying a heavy load on his back, obliged him to march in the foremoſt ranks, aſking him with contemptuous inſolence how he liked his burthen, and the length of his journey? Rufus had riſen from a common man to the rank of centurion, and was afterwards made præfect of the camp. In that ſtation he endeavoured to recal the rigour of ancient diſcipline. A veteran in the ſervice, and long inured to fatigue, he was ſtrict and rigorous in his duty, expecting from others what he had practiſed himſelf.

XXI. THE return of this tumultuous body renewed the troubles of the camp. The ſoldiers without controul iſſued out of the lines, and pillaged the country round. Some, more heavily loaded with booty than their comrades, were apprehended by the orders of Blæſus; and, after receiving due correction, thrown into priſon, as an example to the reſt. The authority of the general was ſtill in force with the centurions, and ſuch of the common

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men as retained a ſenſe of their duty. The delinquents, however, refuſed to ſubmit; they were dragged along, reſiſting with all their ſtrength; they claſped the knees of the multitude round them; they called upon their fellow ſoldiers by name; they implored the protection of the company to which they belonged; they invoked the cohorts and the legions, crying out to all, that the ſame lot would ſhortly be their portion. Againſt their general they omitted nothing that calumny could ſuggeſt; they appealed to heaven; they implored the gods; they tried, by every topic, to excite compaſſion, to inflame reſentment, to awaken terror, and rouſe the men to acts of violence. A general inſurrection followed: the ſoldiers in a body ruſhed to the priſon, burſt the gates, unchained the priſoners, and aſſociated with themſelves the vileſt of the army, a band of deſerters, and a deſperate crew of malefactors, then under condemnation for the enormity of their crimes.

XXII. THE flame of diſcord raged with redoubled fury. New leaders joined the mutiny. Amidſt the crowd, one of the common ſoldiers, a fellow known by the name of Vibulenus, mounted on the ſhoulders of his comrades before the tribunal of Blæſus, and addreſſed the multitude, all wild with fury, and eager to hear the language of ſedition. "My friends," he ſaid, "you "have bravely interpoſed to ſave the lives of theſe innocent, "theſe much injured men. You have reſtored them to new "life. But who will reſtore my brother? who will give him to "my arms? Sent hither from the German army, in concert with "you to ſettle meaſures for our common ſafety, he was laſt night "baſely murdered by the band of gladiators *(a)* whom Blæſus "arms for your deſtruction. Anſwer me, Blæſus, where have "you beſtowed the body? The very enemy allows the rites of "ſepulture. When I have waſhed my brother with my tears,

"and

"and printed kiſſes on his mangled body, then plunge your "poignard in this wretched boſom. I ſhall die content, if theſe "my fellow ſoldiers perform the laſt funeral office, and bury in "one grave two wretched victims, who knew no crime but that "of ſerving the common intereſt of the legions."

XXIII. THIS ſpeech Vibulenus rendered ſtill more inflammatory by the vehemence of his manner, by beating his breaſt, by ſtriking his forehead, and pouring a flood of tears. A way being opened through the crowd, he leaped from the men's ſhoulders, and groveling at the feet of individuals, excited the paſſions of the multitude to the higheſt pitch of phrenzy. In their fury ſome fell upon the gladiators retained by Blæſus, and loaded them with irons; others ſeized the general's domeſtic train; while numbers diſperſed themſelves on every ſide in queſt of the body: and if it had not been ſpeedily known that no corpſe could be found; that the ſlaves of Blæſus averred under the torture that no murder had been committed; and, in fact, that the incendiary never had a brother, Blæſus muſt have fallen a ſacrifice. The tribunes, and the præfect of the camp, were obliged to ſave themſelves by flight. Their baggage was ſeized and plundered. Lucilius the centurion was put to death. This man, by the ſarcaſtic pleaſantry of the ſoldiers, had been nick-named GIVE ME ANOTHER; becauſe, in chaſtiſing the ſoldiers, when one rod was broke, he was uſed to call for ANOTHER, and then ANOTHER. The reſt of the centurions lay concealed in lurking places. Out of the whole number Julius Clemens, a man of prompt and buſy talents, was the favourite of the inſurgents. He was ſpared as a fit perſon to negociate the claims of the army. Two of the legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were upon the point of coming to the deciſion of the ſword: the former bent on the deſtruction of Sirpicus, a centurion; and the latter determined to protect him.

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him. The quarrel would have laid a ſcene of blood, if the ſoldiers of the ninth legion had not, by entreaty, or by menacing the obſtinate, appeaſed the fury of both parties.

XXIV. When the account of theſe tranſactions reached Tiberius, that abſtruſe and gloomy temper, which loved to brood in ſecret over all untoward events, was ſo deeply affected, that he reſolved, without delay, to diſpatch his ſon Druſus, with others of high rank, and two prætorian cohorts, to quell the inſurrection. In their inſtructions no deciſive orders were given: they were left to act as emergencies might require. To the cohorts was added a ſelect detachment, with a party of the prætorian horſe, and the flower of the Germans, at that time the body-guard of the emperor. In the train which accompanied Druſus, Ælius Sejanus *(a)* was appointed, by his counſels to guide the inexperience of the prince. Sejanus, at that time in a joint commiſſion with his father Strabo, had the command of the prætorian bands, and ſtood high in favour with Tiberius: the army would of courſe conſider him as the fountain of rewards and puniſhments. As ſoon as they approached the camp, the diſcontented legions, by way of doing honour to Druſus, advanced to meet him; not, indeed, with colours diſplayed, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions; but with a deep and ſolemn ſilence, their dreſs neglected, and their whole appearance uncouth and ſordid. In their looks was ſeen an air of dejection, and at the ſame time a ſullen gloom, that plainly ſhewed a ſpirit of mutiny ſtill working in their hearts.

XXV. Druſus was no ſooner within the entrenchments, than the malecontents ſecured the gates. Sentinels were poſted at different ſtations, while the reſt in a body gathered round the tribunal. Druſus ſtood in act to ſpeak, with his hand com-

manding ſilence. The ſoldiers felt a variety of contending paſſions: they looked around, and viewing their numbers, grew fierce at the ſight; they rent the air with ſhouts and acclamations: they turned to Druſus, and were covered with confuſion. An indiſtinct and hollow murmur was heard; a general uproar followed; and ſoon afterwards a deep and awful ſilence. The behaviour of the men varied with their paſſions; by turns inflamed with rage, or depreſſed with fear. Druſus ſeized his moment, and read his father's letter, in ſubſtance ſtating, that Tiberius had nothing ſo much at heart as the intereſt of the gallant legions with whom he had ſerved in ſo many wars. As ſoon as his grief for the loſs of Auguſtus allowed him leiſure, it was his intention to refer the caſe of the army to the wiſdom of the ſenate. In the mean time, he ſent his ſon to grant all the relief that could then be applied. Ulterior demands he reſerved for the deliberation of the fathers: to enforce authority, or to relax it, was the lawful right of that aſſembly; and the ſenate, beyond all doubt, would diſtribute rewards and puniſhments with equal juſtice.

XXVI. THE ſoldiers made anſwer, that they had appointed Julius Clemens to ſpeak in their behalf. That officer claimed a right of diſmiſſion from the ſervice, at the end of ſixteen years; all arrears then to be diſcharged: in the mean time a denarius to be the ſoldier's daily pay; and the practice of detaining the men beyond the period of their ſervice, under the name of veterans, to be aboliſhed for ever. In a buſineſs of ſo much moment, Druſus obſerved, that the ſenate and the emperor muſt be conſulted: a general clamour followed. "Why did he come ſo far, "ſince he had no authority to augment their pay, or to mitigate "their ſufferings? The power of doing good was not confided "to him; while every petty officer inflicted blows, and ſtripes,

"and

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"and even death. It had been formerly the policy of Tiberius "to elude the claims of the army, by taking ſhelter under the "name of Auguſtus; and now Druſus comes to play the ſame "farce. How long were they to be amuſed by the viſits of the "emperor's ſon? Could that be deemed an equitable government, "that kept nothing in ſuſpenſe but the good of the army? When "the ſoldier is to be puniſhed, or a battle to be fought, why not "conſult the ſenate? According to the preſent ſyſtem, reward is "to be always a ſubject of reference, while puniſhment is inſtant "and without appeal."

XXVII. THE ſoldiers, in a tumultuous body, ruſhed from the tribunal, breathing vengeance, and, wherever they met either the men belonging to the prætorian bands, or the friends of Druſus, threatening violence, in hopes of ending the diſpute by a ſudden conflict. Cneius Lentulus *(a)*, whoſe age and military character gave him conſiderable weight, was particularly obnoxious; he was ſuppoſed to be the chief adviſer of Druſus, and an enemy to the proceedings of the army. For the ſecurity of his perſon, he went aſide with Druſus, intending to repair to the winter camp. The mutineers gathered round him, demanding with inſolence "which way was he going? to the ſenate? perhaps to the em-"peror? Was he there to ſhew himſelf an enemy to the demands "of the legions?" Nothing could reſtrain their fury: they diſcharged a volley of ſtones; and one of them taking place, Lentulus, wounded and covered with blood, had nothing to expect but inſtant death, when the guards that attended Druſus came up in time, and reſcued him from deſtruction.

XXVIII. THE night that followed ſeemed big with ſome fatal diſaſter, when an unexpected phænomenon put an end to the commotion. In a clear and ſerene ſky the moon was ſuddenly eclipſed.

eclipſed *(a)*. This appearance, in its natural cauſe not underſtood by the ſoldiers, was deemed a prognoſtic denouncing the fate of the army. The planet, in its languiſhing ſtate, repreſented the condition of the legions: if it recovered its former luſtre, the efforts of the men would be crowned with ſucceſs. To aſſiſt the moon in her labours, the air reſounded with the clangor of brazen inſtruments, with the ſound of trumpets, and other warlike muſic. The crowd, in the mean time, ſtood at gaze: every gleam of light inſpired the men with joy; and the ſudden gloom depreſſed their hearts with grief. The clouds condenſed, and the moon was ſuppoſed to be loſt in utter darkneſs. A melancholy horror ſeized the multitude; and melancholy is ſure to engender ſuperſtition. A religious panic ſpread through the army. The appearance in the heavens foretold eternal labour to the legions; and all lamented that by their crimes they had called down upon themſelves the indignation of the gods. Druſus took advantage of the moment. The opportunity was the effect of chance; but, rightly managed, might conduce to the wiſeſt purpoſe.

He gave orders that the men who by honeſt means were moſt in credit with the malecontents, ſhould go round from tent to tent. Among theſe was Clemens, the centurion. They viſited every part of the camp; they applied to the guards on duty; they converſed with the patrole, and mixed with the ſentinels at the gates. They allured ſome by promiſes, and by terror ſubdued the ſpirit of others. "How long ſhall we beſiege the ſon "of the emperor? Where will this confuſion end? Muſt we "follow Percennius and Vibulenus? And ſhall we ſwear fidelity "to thoſe new commanders? Will their funds ſupply the pay of "the legions? Have they lands to aſſign to the veteran ſoldier? "For them ſhall the Neros and the Druſi be depoſed? Are they to "mount the vacant throne, the future ſovereigns of Rome? Let

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"us, ſince we were the laſt to enter into rebellion, be the firſt to "expiate our guilt by well-timed repentance. Demands in fa- "vour of all, proceed but ſlowly: to individuals, indulgence is "more eaſily granted; deſerve it ſeparately, and the reward will "follow." This reaſoning had its effect: ſuſpicion and mutual diſtruſt began to take place; the new raiſed ſoldiers went apart from the veterans; the legions ſeparated; a ſenſe of duty revived in the breaſt of all; the gates were no longer guarded; and the colours, at firſt promiſcuouſly crowded together, were reſtored to their proper ſtation.

XXIX. At the return of day, Druſus called an aſſembly of the ſoldiers. Though unuſed to public ſpeaking, he delivered himſelf with the eloquence of a man who felt his own importance, and the dignity of his rank. He condemned the paſt, and applauded the preſent. It was not, he ſaid, a part of his character to yield to menaces, or to ſhrink from danger. If he ſaw them penitent, if he heard the language of remorſe, he would make a report in their favour, and diſpoſe his father to liſten to their petition. The ſoldiers anſwered in humble terms: at their requeſt, the younger Blæſus, mentioned above, with Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight in the train of Druſus, and Juſtus Catonius, a centurion *(a)* of the firſt rank, were diſpatched as the delegates of the army. In the councils afterwards held by Druſus, various opinions were entertained, and different meaſures propoſed. To wait the return of the deputies, and meanwhile to win the affections of the men by moderation, was the advice of many. Others were for immediate coercion: "Lenity, they ſaid, makes no impreſ- "ſion on the vulgar mind. The common men, when not kept "in ſubjection, are fierce and turbulent; yet ever ready to bend "and crouch under proper authority. It was now the time, "while they were overwhelmed with ſuperſtition, to infuſe ano-

"ther

"ther fear, and teach them to reſpect their general. The authors "of the late ſedition ought to be made a public example." Druſus, by the bent of his nature prone to vindictive meaſures, deſired that Percennius and Vibulenus might be brought before him. By his orders they were put to death; according to ſome writers, in his own tent, and there buried; according to others, their bodies were thrown over the entrenchments, a ſpectacle for public view.

XXX. DILIGENT ſearch was made for the moſt active incendiaries. Some were found roving on the outſide of the lines, and inſtantly cut off by the centurions, or the prætorian ſoldiers. Others were delivered up to juſtice by their reſpective companies, as an earneſt of their own converſion. The rigour of the winter, which ſet in earlier than uſual, added to the afflictions of the army. Heavy rains enſued; and fell with ſuch violence, that the men could not venture from their tents. To meet in parties, and converſe with their comrades, was impoſſible. The colours, borne down by torrents that ruſhed through the camp, were with difficulty ſecured. Superſtition ſtill continued to fill the mind with terror. In every thing that happened, imagination ſaw the anger of the gods: it was not without reaſon that the planets ſuffered an eclipſe, and ſtorms and tempeſts burſt from the angry elements. The guilt of the army was the cauſe of all. To avert impending vengeance, the only expedient was to depart at once from a vile inauſpicious camp, the ſcene of ſo many crimes, and, by due atonement, expiate their paſt offences in their winter quarters. In this perſuaſion the eighth legion departed: the fifteenth followed; while the ninth remained behind, declaring aloud that they would wait for orders from Tiberius: but they ſoon ſaw themſelves deſerted, and therefore ſtruck their tents; willing to do by choice what in a little time would be an act of

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neceſſity. Peace and good order being thus reſtored, Druſus judged it unneceſſary to wait till the return of the deputies, and immediately ſet off for Rome.

XXXI. About the ſame time, and from the ſame cauſes, another ſedition broke out among the legions in Germany, ſupported by greater numbers, and every way more alarming. The leaders of the mutiny flattered themſelves that Germanicus, impatient of a new maſter, would reſign himſelf to the will of the legions, and in that caſe they had no doubt but that every thing would fall before him. Two armies *(a)* in that juncture were formed on the banks of the Rhine; one in Upper Germany, commanded by Caius Silius; the other in the Lower Germany, under Aulus Cæcina. Both were ſubordinate to Germanicus, the commander in chief, who was then in Gaul, holding the aſſembly of the ſtates *(b)*, and collecting the revenues of that nation. The forces under Silius had not as yet revolted: undecided, wavering, and cautious, they judged it prudent to wait the iſſue of the mutiny begun by others. In Cæcina's camp on the Lower Rhine the flame of diſcord was kindled to the utmoſt fury. The one-and-twentieth and the fifth legions began the inſurrection; the firſt and the twentieth followed their example: they were all ſtationed together in a ſummer camp on the confines of the Ubians. The campaign was inactive; and as the calls of duty were ſlight, the time of courſe was paſſed in repoſe and indolence.

New levies from Rome, the refuſe of that city, had lately joined the army. Upon the firſt intelligence of the death of Auguſtus, theſe men, long addicted to licentiouſneſs, and averſe from labour, began to practiſe upon the ruder minds of their fellow ſoldiers. The time, they ſaid, was come, when the veterans might claim their diſmiſſion from the ſervice; when the young ſoldier might

might augment his pay; when the army in general might redreſs their grievances, and retaliate the cruelty of the centurions. It was not, as in Pannonia, a ſingle Percennius that inflamed the mutiny; nor were theſe arguments urged to men who ſaw on every ſide of them ſuperior armies, and of courſe trembled while they meditated a revolt. There were numbers of buſy incendiaries, and many mouths to bawl ſedition. Their doctrine was, that the fate of Rome was in their hands; by their victories the empire flouriſhed; by their valour Germany was ſubdued; and from the country which they had conquered, the emperors of Rome were proud to derive a title *(c)* to adorn their names.

XXXII. CÆCINA ſaw the danger, but made no effort to ſuppreſs it. The malecontents were numerous, and their phrenzy above all controul; inſomuch that the general no longer retained his uſual firmneſs. The tumult broke out at once: the ſoldiers fell upon the centurions, the old and laſting cauſe of military diſcontent, and in every inſurrection the firſt to fall a ſacrifice. They ſeized their victims, and without mercy daſhed them on the ground: in every legion *(a)* the centurions amounted to ſixty; an equal number fell on each of them. The ſoldiers laid on with their cudgels; they wounded, maimed, and mangled their devoted officers; and, to complete their vengeance, caſt them dead, or ready to expire, over the entrenchments. Numbers were thrown into the Rhine. One in particular, by name Septimius, fled to the tribunal; and claſping the knees of his general, hoped there to find a ſanctuary. The ſoldiers demanded him with contumacy, and Cæſina was obliged to give him to their fury. Caſſius Chærea *(b)*, the ſame who afterwards immortalized his name by the death of Caligula, was then a centurion, in the vigour of youth, and of a ſpirit to face every danger. He made head againſt all aſſailants, and ſword in hand cut his way through

their

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their thickeſt ranks. From this time all was uproar and wild commotion. No tribune gave orders, no præfect of the camp was heard. The leaders of the mutiny appointed ſentinels; they ſtationed the night watch, and gave directions as emergencies required. One mind inſpired the whole body; and this circumſtance, in the judgment of thoſe who beſt knew the temper of the army, was the ſure ſign of a faction not eaſy to be quelled. In ſeparate bodies nothing was done; no ſingle incendiary took upon him to direct; together they ſet up a general ſhout, and together all were ſilent. Every thing moved in concert, and even anarchy had the appearance of regular diſcipline.

XXXIII. MEANWHILE Germanicus, engaged, as has been mentioned, with the ſtates of Gaul, received advice that Auguſtus was no more. He had married Agrippina, the grand-daughter *(a)* of that emperor, and by her had ſeveral children. Druſus, the brother of Tiberius, was his father, and of courſe Livia was his grand-mother. Thus deſcended, and thus allied, he lived in perpetual anxiety. The ſullen averſion of his uncle, and the ſecret malice of Livia, embittered his days. The hatred with which they purſued him was unjuſt; and, for that reaſon, unrelenting. The fact is, Druſus *(b)* was the delight of the Roman people: they cheriſhed his memory; perſuaded that, if the ſovereign power had devolved on him, the old republic would have been reſtored. At his death, the affections of mankind were tranſferred to his ſon. From ſimilar virtues the ſame conduct was expected. Poſſeſſed of popular talents, affable, and obliging to all, Germanicus preſented a ſtrong contraſt to the harſh temper and clouded aſpect of Tiberius. The jealouſies that ſubſiſted between the women, added fuel to the flame: Livia beheld the wife of Germanicus with the malice of a ſtep-mother; and, in return, Agrippina reſented every thing with ſenſibility, perhaps

with indignation. But the tenderneſs of her affection for her huſband ſoftened her fiercer paſſions, and gave a tincture of delicacy to that haughty ſpirit which nothing could ſubdue.

XXXIV. GERMANICUS was now advanced nearer to the imperial dignity; but his zeal for Tiberius roſe in proportion. He required from the Sequanians and the Belgic ſtates *(a)* the oath of fidelity to the emperor; and being informed of the commotions that diſtracted the army, he ſet forward, without delay, to appeaſe the tumult. The legions met him on the outſide of the entrenchments, with downcaſt eyes, and all the external ſymptoms of repentance. He was, however, no ſooner within the lines, than the camp reſounded with groans and bitter lamentations. Some laid hold of the prince's hand, as if going to kiſs it; but inſerting his fingers in their mouths, made him feel their boneleſs gums, complaining that they had loſt their teeth in the ſervice: others ſhewed their bodies bent with age, and drooping under a load of infirmities. A tumultuous crowd gathered round the tribunal: Germanicus ordered them to form in their reſpective companies, that the men might more diſtinctly hear his anſwer; and, to diſtinguiſh the cohorts, he directed the ſtandards to be ranged in proper order. The ſoldiers obeyed, but with reluctance. Germanicus opened with the panegyric of Auguſtus; he proceeded to the victories and triumphs obtained by Tiberius *(b)*, inſiſting chiefly on his exploits in Germany at the head of thoſe very legions. The ſucceſſion, he obſerved, was quietly ſettled: Italy conſented, both the Gauls remained in their duty, and peace prevailed in every part of the empire.

XXXV. THUS far Germanicus was heard with ſilence, or at worſt with a low and hollow murmur. He made a tranſition to the preſent diſturbances: "Where is now the ſenſe of military "duty?

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"duty? Where that ancient diſcipline, the boaſt and honour "of the Roman armies? Whither have you driven the tribunes? "Where are the centurions?" At theſe words, the whole multitude, as if with one inſtinct, threw off their clothes, expoſing their bodies ſeamed with wounds from the enemy, and with laſhes from the centurion. A general outcry followed. They complained of the price exacted for relaxations of duty; they mentioned the miſerable pittance which they received for their daily pay; they ſet forth their various hardſhips, and in particular their unremitting labour at the entrenchments, the fatigue of carrying proviſions, wood, and forage, with a detail of other employments, ſometimes impoſed by neceſſity, and frequently to prevent idleneſs in the camp. The clamour of the veterans was outrageous: they had ſerved thirty years and more, and when were they to expect a ceſſation of miſery? They deſired a retreat for old age, that they might not languiſh in deſpair, and wait till the hand of death releaſed them from their troubles. Some demanded immediate payment of the legacies bequeathed by Auguſtus. They offered up ardent vows for the ſucceſs of Germanicus; aſſuring him, if he wiſhed to ſeize the ſovereign power, that they were to a man devoted to his ſervice.

Struck with horror, and dreading the contagion of ſo foul a crime, Germanicus leaped from the tribunal. The ſoldiers ſword in hand oppoſed his paſſage, and even threatened violence if he did not return. The prince was reſolved to periſh, rather than forfeit his honour. He drew his ſword, and pointed it to his breaſt, ready to plunge it to his heart. The people near him ſtopped his hand; but the crowd at a diſtance, and even ſome who dared to advance, had the inſolence to bid him ſtrike: one in particular, by name Caluſidius, preſented a naked ſword; adding, at the ſame time, *Take this; it is ſharper than your own.* This behaviour,

behaviour, even in the moment of phrenzy, appeared to the ſoldiers an atrocious act. A pauſe enſued. The friends of Germanicus ſeized the opportunity, and conveyed him to his tent.

XXXVI. A COUNCIL was immediately called. It was well known that the inſurgents were preparing a deputation to the army on the Upper Rhine, in order to engage them in the revolt, and make it a common cauſe. The city of the Ubians was devoted to deſtruction. From the pillage of that place, the plan of the mutineers was to proceed to greater lengths, and carry deſolation into the provinces of Gaul. The Germans, at the ſame time, knew the diſſenſions of the Roman army; and, if the Rhine were once abandoned, ſtood in readineſs to ſeize ſo advantageous a poſt. The moment was full of perplexity. To employ the auxiliary forces and the ſtates in alliance with Rome againſt the revolted legions, were to engage in a civil war. To proceed with rigour might be dangerous; and to pacify the men by largeſſes, were an expedient altogether diſhonourable. Grant all, or nothing, the dilemma was either way big with miſchief. After mature deliberation, letters were framed in the name of Tiberius, importing, that at the end of twenty years the ſoldier ſhould be entitled to his diſmiſſion; that, after ſixteen, he ſhould be deemed a veteran, ſtill retained in the ſervice, but exempt from all duty, except that of repelling the incurſions of the enemy. A promiſe was added, that the legacies given by Auguſtus ſhould not only be paid, but increaſed to double the amount.

XXXVII. THE forgery was ſuſpected by the ſoldiers. They ſaw that the letter was an expedient to gain time. They demanded immediate compliance, and accordingly diſmiſſions from the ſervice were made out by the tribunes. The payment of the

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money was deferred till the legions arrived in their winter quarters. The fifth and one-and-twentieth refuſed to ſtir from the camp, till Germanicus, with his own finances and the aſſiſtance of his friends, made up the ſum required. The firſt and twentieth legions, under the command of Cæcina, proceeded towards the city of the Ubians; exhibiting, as they marched, a ſhameful ſpectacle, while they carried, amidſt the colours and the Roman eagles, the treaſure extorted from their general. Germanicus proceeded with expedition to the army on the Upper Rhine, and there required the oath of fidelity to the emperor. The ſecond, the thirteenth, and ſixteenth legions complied without heſitation. The fourteenth ſtood for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. They made no demand; but Germanicus ordered diſmiſſions from the ſervice to be made out for the veterans, and their money to be forthwith diſcharged.

XXXVIII. MEANWHILE a party of veterans belonging to the legions lately in commotion, but at that time ſtationed in the territory of the Chaucians, diſcovered the ſame ſpirit of diſaffection; but the firmneſs of Mennius, the prefect of the camp, ſuppreſſed the miſchief in its birth. He ordered two of the ring-leaders to be ſeized, and put to death; an act of ſeverity not ſtrictly *(a)* legal, but in ſome degree juſtified by neceſſity. He was obliged, however, to ſeek his ſafety by flight. The ſoldiers purſued him. Being detected in his lurking-place, he reſolved to face his enemies, and depend upon his own bravery. "It is "not," he ſaid, "againſt me, the prefect of the camp, that this "outrage is committed; it is treachery to Germanicus; it is "treaſon to the emperor." The leaders of the mutiny were ſtruck with terror. In that moment he ſeized the ſtandard; and turning towards the river *(b)*, declared, in a peremptory tone, that whoever quitted his rank, ſhould ſuffer as a deſerter. The whole body

body marched into winter quarters, murmuring diſcontent, but not daring to diſobey.

XXXIX. DURING theſe tranſactions, the deputies of the ſenate met Germanicus at the Ubian altar *(a)*, on his return from the Upper Rhine. Two legions, the firſt and twentieth, were ſtationed at that place in winter quarters; and, with them, the veterans lately appointed to follow the colours. To minds in their condition, fluctuating between fear and conſcious guilt, every circumſtance was a new alarm. The deputies, they were ſure, came with inſtructions to revoke and cancel the terms which violence had extorted. The credulity of the common people never works by halves: they believe without proof, and ſoon find the author of what never happened. Munatius Plancus, a ſenator of conſular rank, and a principal perſon in the embaſſy, was named as the framer of a decree, that never exiſted but in the imagination of the ſoldiers. In the dead of the night they ruſhed in a body to the head quarters of Germanicus, demanding, with rage and violence, the purple ſtandard *(b)* which was there depoſited. They broke open the doors; they forced their way into the houſe; and, dragging their general out of his bed, with menaces of inſtant death compelled him to ſurrender the ſtandard. Fluſhed with this exploit, they ran wild through the ſtreets; and meeting the deputies, then on their way to join the prince, they poured forth a torrent of opprobrious language, and threatened a general maſſacre.

Plancus was the firſt object of their fury. That illuſtrious citizen could not, without diſhonour to his character, ſhrink back from a tumultuous rabble: he was however compelled to take refuge in the camp of the firſt legion. He there embraced the colours: and, laying hold of the eagles, thought himſelf protected

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by the gods of the army. But even that ſanctuary was no longer a place of ſhelter; the ſoldiers forgot the religion of the camp; and if Calpurnius, the eagle-bearer, had not made a ſtout reſiſtance, a deed of horror, unheard of even among barbarians, had been impiouſly perpetrated; and the blood of a Roman ambaſſador, in a Roman camp, had ſtained the altar of the gods *(c)*. At the return of day, when the general, the men, and the actions of all might be clearly diſtinguiſhed, Germanicus entered the camp. He ordered Plancus to be conducted to his preſence, and ſeated him near himſelf on the tribunal. He complained of the diſtractions of the time; but imputed what had happened not ſo much to the madneſs of the ſoldiers, as to the vengeance of the gods. He explained the nature of the deputation from the ſenate; he ſtated the rights of ambaſſadors; he painted forth, in pathetic terms, the indignity offered to a man of ſuch high conſideration as Plancus; and lamented the diſgrace that befel the legion. The ſoldiers heard him like men aſtoniſhed, but not convinced. Germanicus thought proper to diſmiſs the deputies; but, to guard their perſons, ordered a detachment of the auxiliary horſe to eſcort them.

XL. THE conduct of Germanicus was cenſured by many of his friends. "Why did he not withdraw to the army on the "Upper Rhine? Diſcipline was there in force, and with proper "aſſiſtance the mutiny might have been cruſhed at once. By "diſmiſſions from the ſervice, by largeſſes, and other feeble "meaſures, the diſturbances were too much encouraged. If the "general ſet no value on his own life, why neglect the ſafety of "his infant ſon *(a)*? Why hazard among lawleſs men, who "had violated every ſacred right, an affectionate wife, at that time "far advanced in her pregnancy? Thoſe tender pledges were the "property of the ſtate, and ſhould be reſtored to the emperor and "the

"the commonwealth." Germanicus yielded to theſe remonſtrances; but the conſent of Agrippina was ſtill to be obtained. Deſcended from Auguſtus, ſhe inſiſted that the grand-daughter of that emperor had not ſo far degenerated, as to ſhrink from danger. Germanicus continued to urge his requeſt; he melted into tears; he claſped her in his arms;-he embraced her infant ſon, and at length prevailed. A proceſſion of diſconſolate women moved ſlowly on; and with them the wife of the commander in chief, compelled to be a wanderer, with her infant ſon in her arms. A band of wretched women, driven forth from their huſbands, attended in her train. Amongſt thoſe whom they left behind, the ſcene of diſtreſs was not leſs affecting.

XLI. THE camp preſented a mournful ſpectacle. Inſtead of a Roman general at the head of his legions, inſtead of Germanicus in all the pride and pomp of authority, the face of things reſembled a city taken by ſtorm. Nothing was heard but ſhrieks and lamentations. The ſoldiers liſtened; they came forth from their tents; they ſtood aſtoniſhed at the ſight: and, "Why," they ſaid, "wherefore thoſe notes of ſorrow? What means that mournful ſpectacle? A train of noble matrons deſerted, left to themſelves, abandoned by all! no centurion, not ſo much as a ſoldier, to accompany them! The wife of the general, undiſtinguiſhed in the crowd, without a guard, and without the train of attendants ſuited to her rank, proceeding on her way towards the people of Treves, to ſeek in a foreign ſtate that protection, which was denied her in a Roman camp!" To theſe reflections ſhame and remorſe ſucceeded, and every breaſt was touched with ſympathy. All lamented the condition of Agrippina. They called to mind the ſplendor of her father Agrippa; they recollected the majeſty of Auguſtus, her grandfather; they remembered Druſus, her father-in-law: her own perſonal accompliſhments, her numerous iſſue;

and

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and her virtue, endeared her to the army. Her ſon, they ſaid, was a native of the camp *(a)*; he was educated in the tents of the legions; and ſurnamed CALIGULA, from the boots ſo called, which, to win the affections of the ſoldiers, he wore in common with the meaneſt of the army. Amidſt theſe reflections, the honour intended for the people of Treves made the deepeſt impreſſion. Stung by that idea, they preſſed forward to Agrippina; they entreated her to ſtay; they oppoſed her paſſage; they ran in crowds to Germanicus, imploring him not to let her depart. The prince, ſtill warm with mixed emotions of grief and indignation, addreſſed them in the following manner:

XLII. "MY wife and child are ever dear to me, but not more "ſo than my father *(a)* and the commonwealth. But the em- "peror will be ſafe in his own imperial dignity, and the common- "wealth has other armies to fight her battles. For my wife and "children, if from their deſtruction you might derive additional "glory, I could yield them up a ſacrifice in ſuch a cauſe: at pre- "ſent, I remove them from the rage of frantic men. If horrors "are ſtill to multiply, let my blood glut your fury. The great- "grandſon of Auguſtus, and the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, "need not be left to fill the meaſure of your iniquity. With- "out that horrible cataſtrophe the ſcene of guilt may end. But "let me aſk you, in theſe laſt few days what have you not "attempted? What have you left unviolated? By what name "ſhall I now addreſs you? Shall I call you ſoldiers? Soldiers! "who have dared to beſiege the ſon *(b)* of your emperor! who "have made him a priſoner in his own entrenchments! Can I "call you citizens? Citizens! who have trampled under your feet "the authority of the ſenate; who have violated the moſt awful "ſanctions, even thoſe which hoſtile ſtates have ever held in "reſpect, the rights of ambaſſadors, and the law of nations!

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"Julius Cæſar by a ſingle word was able to quell a mutiny: "he ſpoke to the men who reſiſted his authority; he called them "Romans *(c)*, and they became his ſoldiers. Auguſtus ſhewed "himſelf to the legions that fought at Actium, and the majeſty "of his countenance awed them into obedience. The diſtance "between myſelf and thoſe illuſtrious characters, I know is great; "and yet, deſcended from them, with their blood in my veins, I "ſhould reſent with indignation a parallel outrage from the ſol-"diers of Syria, or of Spain: and will you, ye men of the firſt "legion, who received your colours from the hand of Tiberius; "and you, ye men of the twentieth, his fellow warriors in the "field, his companions in ſo many victories, will you thus re-"quite him for all the favours ſo graciouſly beſtowed upon you? "From every other quarter of the empire Tiberius has received "nothing but joyful tidings: and muſt I wound his ear with the "news of your revolt? Muſt he hear from me, that neither the "ſoldiers raiſed by himſelf, nor the veterans, who fought under "him, are willing to own his authority? Muſt he be told that "neither diſmiſſions from the ſervice, nor money laviſhly granted, "can appeaſe the fury of ungrateful men? Muſt I inform him, "that here the centurions are murdered; that, in this camp, the "tribunes are driven from their poſt; that here the ambaſſadors of "Rome are detained as priſoners? That the entrenchments pre-"ſent a ſcene of ſlaughter? That rivers are diſcoloured with our "blood? And that a Roman general leads a precarious life, at "the mercy of men inflamed with epidemic madneſs?

XLIII. "WHY, the other day, when I endeavoured to addreſs "you, why was the ſword which I aimed at my breaſt, why in "that moment was it wreſted from me? Oh! my miſtaken "friends! The man who preſented his ſword, dealt more kindly "by me. I could then have cloſed my eyes in peace. I ſhould

"not

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" not have lived to ſee the diſgrace of the legions, and all the " horrors that followed. After my death, you would have choſen " another general, regardleſs indeed of my unhappy lot, but " ſtill of ſpirit to revenge the maſſacre of Varus and his three " legions. May that revenge be ſtill reſerved for the Roman " ſword; and may the gods withhold from the Belgic ſtates, " though now they court the opportunity, the vaſt renown of vin- " dicating the Roman name, and humbling the pride of the Ger- " man nations! and may thy departed ſpirit, adored Auguſtus! " who now art ranked among the gods; and may thy image *(a)*, " Druſus, my ever honoured father! may thy memory inſpire " theſe unhappy men, whom I now ſee touched with remorſe! " May your active energy blot out the diſgrace that ſits heavy " upon them; and may the rage of civil diſcord diſcharge itſelf " on the enemies of Rome! And you, my fellow-ſoldiers! " whom I behold with altered looks, whoſe hearts begin to melt " with ſorrow and repentance, if you mean to preſerve the am- " baſſadors of the ſenate; if you intend to remain faithful to your " prince, and to reſtore my wife and children; detach yourſelves " at once from the contagion of guilty men; withdraw from the " ſeditious: that act will be a proof of your remorſe, an earneſt " of returning virtue."

XLIV. THE ſoldiers were appeaſed by this harangue. They acknowledged their guilt, and the juſtice of the reproof. In a ſuppliant tone they entreated Germanicus to ſelect for puniſhment the moſt obnoxious; to pardon the weakneſs of men drawn into error, and lead them againſt the enemy. They requeſted that his wife might be recalled; and that his ſon, the darling of the camp, might not be ſent a hoſtage to the ſtates of Gaul. Agrippina being then advanced in her pregnancy, and the winter ſeaſon approaching, Germanicus judged it beſt to let her proceed on her journey.

journey. His ſon, he ſaid, ſhould once more appear amongſt them. What remained to be done he left to themſelves.

The ſoldiers were now incited by new ſentiments, and paſſions unfelt before: they ſeized the ringleaders of the ſedition, and delivered them, loaded with irons, to Caius Cetronius, who commanded the firſt legion. By that officer the delinquents were brought to immediate juſtice. The form of proceeding was as follows: The legions under arms were ranged round the tribunal: the criminal was ſet up to public view; if the general voice pronounced him guilty, he was thrown headlong down, and put to inſtant death. In this mode of puniſhment the ſoldier concurred with ardour; by ſhedding the blood of others, he thought his own guilt was expiated. The meaſure, however violent, received no check from Germanicus. What was done had no ſanction from his orders. The cruelty began with the ſoldiers, and by conſequence could be imputed to no one elſe. The veterans followed the example, and in a few days afterwards were ordered to march into Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the inroads of the Suevians; but, in truth, to remove them from a camp polluted by rebellion, and in the end made ſavage by the horrors of military execution. A ſtrict review of the centurions was the firſt care of Germanicus. They were all cited before him; each in perſon gave in his name, his rank, the place of his birth, the length of his ſervice, the actions in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and the military honours *(a)* which he had obtained. If the tribunes, or the legion in general, reported in his favour, he preſerved his ſtation; if taxed by the general voice with avarice or cruelty, he was diſcharged from the ſervice.

XLV. ORDER and tranquillity were in this manner reſtored but

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but at the diſtance of ſixty miles, at a place called *Vetera (a)*, riot and diſorder ſtill ſubſiſted. The fifth and twenty-firſt legions were there in winter quarters. In the late commotions theſe men were the firſt and moſt active incendiaries. The worſt and blackeſt crimes were by them committed; and now, when the ſtorm was in appearance over, they ſtill retained their former ferocity, unreclaimed by the penitence of others, and undiſmayed by the fate of thoſe who had ſuffered death. To meet this new alarm, Germanicus reſolved to equip his fleet, and with the auxiliary forces to ſail down the Rhine, in order, if the mutiny ſtill ſubſiſted, to cruſh it at once by force of arms.

XLVI. At Rome, in the mean time, where the iſſue of the commotions in Illyricum was yet unknown, advice was received of the diſorders that broke out in Germany. The city was thrown into conſternation. All exclaimed againſt the conduct of Tiberius. "To amuſe the ſenate and the people, both helpleſs, void of ſpirit, and diſarmed, was the ſole drift of the emperor. The flame of diſcord was in the mean time kindled up by the diſtant armies; and two young men who had neither experience, nor ſufficient authority, were ſent in vain to quell the inſurrection. Why did not Tiberius ſet out in perſon upon the firſt alarm? The occaſion called for his preſence. At the ſight of him, who had gained renown in war, and was moreover the fountain of rewards and puniſhments, the malcontents would have laid down their arms. Auguſtus *(a)*, though in the decline of life, could make a progreſs into Germany; and ſhall Tiberius, in the vigour of his days, content himſelf with the vain parade of attending the ſenate, there to amuſe himſelf with petty diſputes, to cavil about words, and wrangle with the fathers? Enough was done at Rome to eſtabliſh his ſyſtem of ſlavery, and deſpotic power. Meaſures ſhould now be taken to curb

"curb the ſpirit of the legions, and teach them to endure the "leiſure of repoſe."

XLVII. TIBERIUS heard the murmurs of diſcontent, but remained inflexible. To keep poſſeſſion of the capital, and neither hazard his own ſafety, nor that of the empire, was his fixed reſolution. A crowd of reflections filled him with anxiety. The German army was ſuperior in ſtrength; that in Pannonia was the neareſt: the former had great reſources in Gaul, and Italy lay open to the latter. To which ſhould he give the preference? If he viſited one, the other might take umbrage. By ſending his ſons, he held the balance even, and neither could be jealous. It was beſides his maxim, that the imperial dignity ſhould not be ſuffered to tarniſh in the eye of the public. What is ſeen at a diſtance, is moſt reſpected. If Druſus and Germanicus reſerved ſome points for the conſideration of their father, the inexperience of youth would be a ſufficient apology. Should the mutineers perſiſt with obſtinacy, there would ſtill be time for the prince to interpoſe, and either by rigour, or conciliating meaſures, to reſtore the ancient diſcipline. If he went in perſon, and the inſurgents ſpurned his authority, what reſource was left?—Theſe conſiderations had their weight; and yet, to have the appearance of being willing to face his armies, was part of his policy. He played this game ſo well, that he ſeemed every day upon the point of leaving Rome *(a)*. He ſettled his train of attendants, ordered his camp-equipage, equipped his fleets; ſtill contriving, by ſpecious pretences, to give a colour to delay. The winter ſeaſon, he ſaid, was near at hand, and the weight of affairs at Rome claimed his attention. The moſt diſcerning were for ſome time the dupes of his diſſimulation. The people were much longer amuſed, and the provinces were the laſt to ſee through the deluſion.

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XLVIII. GERMANICUS in the mean time was ready, with his collected force, to act againſt the rebel legions. He was willing, notwithſtanding, to ſuſpend his operations, till time ſhould ſhew whether the late example had wrought the minds of the ſoldiers to ſubmiſſion, and a due ſenſe of their duty. With this intent, he ſent diſpatches to Cæcina, to inform that officer, that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army; reſolved, if juſtice was not previouſly executed, to put the whole body to the ſword. Cæcina communicated, in a confidential manner, his ſecret inſtructions to the ſtandard-bearers, to the inferior officers, and ſuch of the private men as were known to be well affected. He recommended to them to avert the danger that hung over the legions, and in good time to ſecure their lives. In times of peace, he ſaid, there is always leiſure to inveſtigate the truth, and ſeparate the man of merit from the turbulent and ſeditious: but war knows no diſtinction of caſes; the innocent and the guilty fall in one promiſcuous carnage.

The officers, thus inſtructed, ſounded the common men; and, finding the greateſt part well affected, agreed, at an hour approved of by Cæcina, to fall with ſudden fury upon the leaders of the mutiny. Having concerted their meaſures, at a ſignal given they began the attack. They ruſhed ſword in hand into the tents *(a)*, and without mercy butchered their comrades, who little thought they were ſo near their end. A dreadful ſlaughter followed; no cauſe aſſigned, and no explanation given. Except the authors of the meaſure, no man knew from what motive the aſſault proceeded, or where it would end.

XLIX. IN the civil wars recorded in hiſtory, we no where find a ſcene of horror like the preſent. No battle was fought; there was no aſſault from an adverſe camp: in the ſame tents, where the day

day ſaw them eat their meal in peace, and the night laid them down to reſt, comrades divide againſt their fellows; darts and javelins are thrown with ſudden fury; uproar and confuſion follow; ſhouts and dying groans reſound throughout the camp; a ſcene of blood is laid; wretches expire, and the reaſon remains unknown. The event is left to chance. Men of worth and honour periſhed in the fray; for the guilty, finding themſelves the devoted objects, ſnatched up their arms, and joined the better cauſe. Cæcina remained a tame ſpectator; no officer, no tribune attempted to ſtop the wild commotion. The fury of the ſoldiers had its free career; and vengeance rioted in blood, even to ſatiety. Germanicus in a ſhort time after entered the camp. He ſaw a tragic ſpectacle; and, with tears in his eyes, called it a maſſacre, not an act of juſtice. He ordered the dead bodies to be burnt. The fury of the ſoldiers had not yet ſubſided: in the agitation of their minds they deſired to be led againſt the enemy, in order to expiate by the blood of the Barbarians the deſolation they had made. The ſhades of their ſlaughtered friends could not be otherwiſe appeaſed: when their breaſts were gaſhed with honourable wounds, atonement would then be made. Germanicus embraced the opportunity; and throwing a bridge over the river *(a)*, advanced with an army of twelve thouſand legionary ſoldiers, ſix-and-twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight ſquadrons of horſe; all free from diſaffection, and during the late commotions ſtrict obſervers of diſcipline.

L. THE Germans, poſted at a ſmall diſtance, exulted in full ſecurity. They ſaw with pleaſure the ceſſation of arms occaſioned by the death of Auguſtus; and the revolt of the legions inſpired them with freſh courage. The Romans, by a forced march, paſſed the Cæſian foreſt *(a)*; and having levelled part of the rampart *(b)* formerly begun by Tiberius, pitched their tents on the ſpot. In the

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the front and rear of the camp, they threw up entrenchments. The flanks were fortified with a pile of trees, hewn down for the purpoſe. Their way from that place lay through a gloomy foreſt: but of two roads, which was moſt eligible, was matter of doubt; whether the *(c)* ſhorteſt and moſt frequented, or another more difficult, and ſeldom attempted, but for that reaſon unſuſpected by the enemy. The longeſt road was preferred. The army puſhed on with vigour. The ſcouts had brought intelligence that the approaching night was a feſtival, to be celebrated by the Barbarians with joy and revelry. In conſequence of this information, Cæcina had orders to advance with the light cohorts, and clear a paſſage through the woods. The legions followed at a moderate diſtance. The brightneſs of the night favoured their deſign. They arrived, with rapid expedition, at the villages of the Marſians *(d)*, and without delay formed a chain of poſts, to incloſe the enemy on every ſide. The Barbarians were ſunk in ſleep and wine, ſome ſtretched on their beds, others at full length under the tables; all in full ſecurity, without a guard, without poſts, and without a ſentinel on duty. No appearance of war was ſeen; nor could that be called a peace, which was only the effect of ſavage riot, the languor of a debauch.

LI. GERMANICUS, to ſpread the ſlaughter as wide as poſſible, divided his men into four battalions. The country, fifty miles round, was laid waſte with fire and ſword; no compaſſion for ſex or age; no diſtinction of places, holy or profane; nothing was ſacred. In the general ruin the Temple of Tanfan *(a)*, which was held by the inhabitants in the higheſt veneration, was levelled to the ground. Dreadful as the ſlaughter was, it did not coſt a drop of Roman blood. Not ſo much as a wound was received. The attack was made on the Barbarians ſunk in ſleep, diſperſed in flight, unarmed, and incapable of reſiſtance. An account of the maſſacre

ſoon reached the Bructerians, the Tubantes, and the Uſipetes. Inflamed with reſentment, thoſe nations took up arms; and poſting themſelves to advantage, ſurrounded the woods through which the Roman army was to paſs. Germanicus, informed of their motions, marched in order of battle. Part of the cavalry, with the light cohorts, formed the van; the firſt legion followed, to ſupport them; the baggage moved in the centre. The left wing was cloſed by the twenty-firſt legion, and the right by the fifth. The twentieth, with the auxiliaries, brought up the rear. The Germans, in cloſe ambuſh, waited till the army ſtretched into the woods. After ſkirmiſhing with the advanced party, and both the flanks, they fell with their whole ſtrength upon the rear. The light cohorts, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of a cloſe embodied enemy, were thrown into diſorder; when Germanicus, riding at full ſpeed to the twentieth legion, cried aloud, "The time is "come when you may efface, by one brave exploit, the guilt of "the late ſedition: charge with courage, and you gain immortal "honour." Rouſed by this animating ſtrain, the legion ruſhed to the attack, and at the firſt onſet broke the ranks of the enemy. The Barbarians fled to the open plain: the Romans purſued them with dreadful ſlaughter. Meanwhile the van of the army paſſed the limits of the foreſt, and began to throw up entrenchments. From that time the march was unmoleſted. The ſoldiers, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and in the glory of this expedition loſing all memory of former guilt, were ſent into winter-quarters.

LII. An account of theſe events arriving at Rome, Tiberius was variouſly affected. He received a degree of pleaſure, but it was a pleaſure mingled with anxiety. That the troubles in the camp were at an end, he heard with ſatisfaction; but he ſaw, with a jealous ſpirit, that by largeſſes, and diſmiſſions from the ſervice, Germanicus had gained the affections of the legions. The glory

of

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of his arms was another circumſtance that touched him nearly. He thought fit, notwithſtanding, to lay the whole account before the ſenate. He expatiated at large in praiſe of Germanicus, but in terms of ſtudied oſtentation, too elaborate to be thought ſincere. Of Druſus, and the iſſue of the troubles in Illyricum, he ſpoke with more reſerve; conciſe, yet not without energy. The conceſſions made by Germanicus to the legions on the Rhine, were ratified in every article, and at the ſame time extended to the army in Pannonia.

LIII. In the courſe of the year died Julia *(a)*, the daughter of Auguſtus. On account of her laſcivious pleaſures, ſhe had been formerly baniſhed by her father to the Iſle of Pandataria, and afterwards to Rhegium, a city on the ſtreights of Sicily. During the life of her ſons Caius and Lucius, ſhe became the wife of Tiberius, and by the haughtineſs of her carriage made him feel that ſhe thought him beneath her rank. The arrogance of her behaviour was the ſecret and moſt powerful motive for the retreat, which that prince made to the Iſle of Rhodes. At his acceſſion to the empire, when he was maſter of the Roman world, he ſaw her in a ſtate of deſtitution, baniſhed, covered with infamy, and, after the murder of Agrippa Poſthumus, without a ray of hope to comfort her. Yet this could not appeaſe the malice of Tiberius. He ordered her to be ſtarved to death; concluding that, after a tedious exile at a place remote, a lingering death in want and miſery, would paſs unnoticed.

From the ſame root of bitterneſs ſprung the cruelty with which he perſecuted Sempronius Gracchus *(b)*; a man deſcended from a noble family, poſſeſſed of talents, and adorned with eloquence, but eloquence viciouſly applied. By his wit and rare accompliſhments he ſeduced the affections of Julia, even in the life-time

of her huſband Agrippa. Nor did his paſſion ſtop there: when ſhe was afterwards married to Tiberius, he was ſtill a perſevering adulterer, and by ſecret artifices poiſoned the mind of the wife againſt her huſband. The letter to Auguſtus, in which ſhe treated the character of Tiberius with contempt, was generally thought to be his compoſition. For theſe offences he was baniſhed to Cercina, an iſland on the coaſt of Africa, where he paſſed fourteen years in exile. Soldiers at length were ſent to put an end to his days. The aſſaſſins found him on the point of a prominent neck of land, with a countenance fixed in ſorrow and deſpair. As ſoon as the ruffians approached, he deſired a ſhort delay, that he might write the ſentiments of a dying man to his wife Alliaria. Having diſpatched that buſineſs, he preſented his neck to the murderer's ſtroke; in his laſt moments worthy of the Sempronian name. His life was a ſeries of degenerate actions. The aſſaſſins, according to ſome hiſtorians, were not hired at Rome, but ſent from Africa by the proconſul Lucius Aſprenas, at the inſtigation of Tiberius, who hoped to throw from himſelf the load of guilt, and fix it on his tools of power. The artifice did not ſucceed.

LIV. In the courſe of this year was formed a new inſtitution of religious rites. In honour of Auguſtus a liſt of prieſts was added to the ſacerdotal college, in imitation of the order founded in ancient times by Titus Tatius, to perpetuate the religious ceremonies of the Sabines. To create this new ſodality, the names of the moſt eminent citizens, to the number of one-and-twenty, were drawn by lot; and Tiberius, Druſus, Claudius, and Germanicus, were added. It happened, however, that the games performed this year in honour of Auguſtus, were diſturbed by violent factions among the players *(a)*. In compliance with the wiſhes of Mæcenas, that paſſionate admirer of Bathyllus the comedian, Auguſtus had always favoured the exhibition of pan-

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tomimes. He had himſelf a taſte for thoſe amuſements; and by mixing with the diverſions of the multitude, he thought he ſhewed a popular condeſcenſion. Tiberius was of a different character: but the minds of men, ſoftened by luxury, and during a long reign diſſolved in pleaſure, could not eaſily conform to that auſterity, which ſuited the rigid temper of the prince.

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LV. In the conſulſhip of Druſus Cæſar and Caius Norbanus, a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, though the war was not yet brought to a concluſion. The prince had concerted his plan of operations for the enſuing ſummer; but he thought proper, early in the ſpring, to open the campaign, by a ſudden irruption into the territories of the Cattians; a people diſtracted among themſelves by the oppoſite factions of Arminius *(a)* and Segeſtes; the former famous for his treachery to the Romans, and the latter for unſhaken fidelity. Arminius was the common diſturber of Germany; Segeſtes, on the other hand, had given repeated proofs of his pacific temper. When meaſures were taken for a general inſurrection, he diſcovered the conſpiracy; and during the banquet which preceded the maſſacre of Varus, he propoſed that he himſelf, Arminius, and other chiefs, ſhould be ſeized, and loaded with irons. By that vigorous meaſure he was ſure that the minds of the common people would be depreſſed with fear; and, having loſt their chiefs, none would dare to riſe in arms. The general, of courſe, would have leiſure to diſcriminate the innocent from the guilty. But Varus was fated to periſh, and Arminius ſtruck the blow. In the preſent juncture, Segeſtes was compelled by the ardour of his countrymen to take up arms. He ſtill however retained his former ſentiments. He had, beſides, motives of a private nature: his daughter, whom he had promiſed in marriage to another chief, was raviſhed from him by Arminius. The father and the ſon-in-law were by con-

ſequence inveterate enemies; and that connection, which between perſons mutually well inclined forms the tendereſt friendſhip, ſerved only to inflame the animoſity of the two contending chiefs.

LVI. ENCOURAGED by theſe diſſenſions, Germanicus appointed Cæcina to the command of four legions, five thouſand of the allies, and the German recruits lately raiſed, by haſty levies, on this ſide of the Rhine. He marched himſelf at the head of an equal legionary force, and double the number of auxiliaries. On the ruins of a fort, formerly built on Mount Taunus *(a)* by his father Druſus, he raiſed a fortification, and proceeded by rapid marches againſt the Cattians. To ſecure his retreat, he left behind him Lucius Apronius, with orders to work at the roads, and embank the rivers. The dryneſs of the ſeaſon, uncommon in thoſe parts, and the low bed of waters in the rivers, favoured his expedition; but, before his return, the fall of heavy rains, and the overflow of torrents, might lay the country under water. His arrival was ſo little expected by the Cattians, that their women and children were either taken priſoners, or put to the ſword. The young and able-bodied made their eſcape by ſwimming acroſs the Adrana. From the oppoſite bank they attempted to hinder a bridge from being thrown over the river; but by a fierce diſcharge from the engines, and a volley of darts, they were driven from their poſt. They offered terms of peace, but without ſucceſs. Numbers ſubmitted at diſcretion: the reſt abandoned their villages, and fled for ſhelter into the woods. The country round was laid waſte; Mattium, the capital, was deſtroyed by fire; and the open plains were made a deſart. Germanicus marched his army back towards the Rhine, the Barbarians never daring to haraſs the rear, as is their practice, when pretending to retreat in a panic, they wheel about on a ſudden, and return to the charge. The Cheruſcans meditated a ſudden attack in favour of

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the Cattians; but Cæcina, with an army of obſervation, ſpread ſo warm an alarm, that the enterprize was dropt. The Marſians, more bold and deſperate, riſqued a battle, and were defeated.

LVII. GERMANICUS, in a ſhort time afterwards, received a meſſage from Segeſtes, imploring protection from the fury of his countrymen, who held him cloſely beſieged. Arminius had been the adviſer of the war, and was by conſequence the idol of the people. In a nation of ſavages, the man of fierce and turbulent ſpirit is ſure, in times of commotion, to be the leading demagogue. Among the deputies ſent to Germanicus, was Segimund, the ſon of Segeſtes; a young man who, in the year famous for the revolt of Germany, was made by the Romans a prieſt of the Ubian altar; but ſoon after, fired by the zeal that rouſed his whole nation, he tore off his ſacred veſtments, and went over to his countrymen. Conſcious of this offence, he heſitated for ſome time, willing to decline the embaſſy; till at length, encouraged by the fame of Roman clemency, he obeyed his father's orders. He met with a gracious reception; and, under a proper guard, was conducted in ſafety to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus thought it of moment to change his purpoſe, and march back to the relief of Segeſtes. He no ſooner appeared before the place, than the enemy was attacked, and put to the rout.

Segeſtes was ſet at liberty, and with him a numerous train of relatives and faithful followers; ſeveral women of noble birth; and, in the number, the daughter of Segeſtes *(a)*, then married to Arminius. In her deportment no trace appeared of her father's character: ſhe breathed the ſpirit of her huſband. Not a tear was ſeen to ſtart; no ſupplicating tone was heard; ſhe ſtood in penſive ſilence; her hands ſtrained cloſe to her boſom, and her eyes fixed upon her womb, then pregnant with the fruit of her marriage.

marriage. At the ſame time was brought forth a load of ſpoils, which, in the ſlaughter of Varus and his legions, fell to the ſhare of thoſe who now ſurrendered to the Roman arms. What chiefly attracted every eye, was Segeſtes himſelf; his ſtature of ſuperior ſize, and his countenance that of a man who knew neither guilt nor fear. He ſpoke to this effect:

LVIII. "IT is not now the firſt time that Segeſtes has given "proofs of his attachment to the cauſe of Rome. From the mo- "ment when I was enrolled a citizen by the deified Auguſtus, "your intereſt has been the rule of my conduct. Your friends I "embraced; your enemies were mine. In acting thus, I have "not been guilty of treaſon to my country. A traitor I know "is odious, even to thoſe who profit by the treaſon. I have been "your friend, becauſe I thought the intereſts of Germany and "Rome were interwoven with each other; I have been your "friend, becauſe I preferred peace to war. Governed by theſe "principles, I addreſſed myſelf to Varus, who commanded "your armies; before his tribunal, I exhibited an accuſation "againſt Arminius, the raviſher of my daughter, and the violator "of public treaties. But ſloth and irreſolution were the bane of "that unfortunate general. From laws enfeebled and relaxed "I expected no relief. I therefore deſired, earneſtly deſired, that "Arminius, and the other chiefs of the conſpiracy, might be "thrown into irons. I did not except myſelf. With what zeal "I preſſed the meaſure, witneſs that fatal night, which I wiſh "had been my laſt. The horrors that followed, demand our "tears: they cannot be juſtified. Soon after that tragic event, "I confined Arminius in chains; and from his faction I have "ſuffered, in my turn, the ſame indignity. Admitted now to "an interview with Germanicus, I prefer ancient friendſhip "to new connections; my voice is ſtill for peace. For myſelf, "I have nothing in view: my honour is dear to me, and I deſire

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"to repel all ſuſpicion of perfidy. I would, if poſſible, make "terms for my countrymen, if they can be induced to prefer "a well-timed repentance to calamity and ruin. For my ſon, "and the errors of his youth, I am an humble ſuppliant. My "daughter, indeed, appears before you, by neceſſity, not by "her own choice: I acknowledge it. It is yours to decide her "fate: it is yours to judge which ought to have moſt influence, "her huſband, or her father: ſhe is with child by Arminius, "and ſhe ſprung from me." Germanicus, in his uſual ſtyle of moderation, aſſured him that his children and relations ſhould be protected; as to himſelf, he might depend upon a ſafe retreat in one of the old provinces. He then marched back to the Rhine; and there, by the direction of Tiberius, was honoured with the title of IMPERATOR. The wife of Arminius was delivered of a boy, who was reared and educated at Ravenna *(a)*. The diſaſters which made him afterwards the ſport of fortune, ſhall be related in their proper place.

LIX. THE ſurrender of Segeſtes, and his gracious reception from Germanicus, being in a ſhort time ſpread throughout Germany, the feelings of men were various, as their inclinations happened to be for peace or war. Arminius, by nature fierce and enterpriſing, ſeeing, in this juncture, his wife for ever loſt, and the child in her womb a ſlave before its birth, felt himſelf inflamed with tenfold fury. He flew round the country of the Cheruſcans, ſpreading the flame of diſcord, and in every quarter rouſing the people to revenge; he called aloud to arms, to arms againſt Segeſtes, to arms againſt the Romans. He ſpared no topic that could inflame reſentment. "Behold," he cried, "behold in Segeſtes the true character of a father! in Germanicus "an accompliſhed general! in the exploits of the Roman army, "the glory of a warlike nation! with mighty numbers they have "led a woman into captivity. It was not in this manner that "Armi-

"Arminius dealt with them: three legions, and as many commanders, fell a ſacrifice to my revenge. To the arts of traitors "I am a ſtranger; I wage no war with women big with child. "My enemies are worthy of a ſoldier; I declare open hoſtility, "and ſword in hand I meet them in the field of battle.

"Survey your religious groves: the Roman banners by me "hung up, and dedicated to the gods of our country, are there "diſplayed; they are the trophies of victory. Let Segeſtes fly for "ſhelter to the Roman provinces; let him enjoy his bank on "the ſide of Gaul; and let him there meanly crouch to make "his ſon the prieſt of a foreign altar. Poſterity will have reaſon "to curſe his memory: future ages will deteſt the man, whoſe "crime it is, that we have ſeen, between the Rhine and the "Elbe, rods and axes, the Roman habit, and the Roman arms. "To other nations, puniſhments and taxes are yet unknown; "they are happy, for they are ignorant of the Romans. We "have bravely thrown off the yoke; we are free from burthens: "and ſince Auguſtus was obliged to retreat, that very Auguſtus "whom his countrymen have made a god; and ſince Tiberius, "that upſtart emperor, keeps aloof from Germany, ſhall we, "who have dared nobly for our liberties, ſhrink from a boy "void of experience, and an army ruined by their own diviſions? If your country is dear to you, if the glory of your "anceſtors is near your hearts, if liberty is of any value, if the "enjoyment of your natural rights is preferable to new maſters "and foreign colonies, follow Arminius. I will marſhal you "the way to glory and to freedom. Segeſtes has nothing in "ſtore but infamy, chains, and bondage."

LX. By theſe incendiary ſpeeches all Germany was rouſed to action. The Cheruſcans took up arms, and the neighbouring ſtates

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ſtates followed their example. Inguiomer, a man long known, and high in the eſtimation of the Romans, declared in favour of Arminius: he was uncle to that chieftain. By adopting his meaſures, he added ſtrength to the confederacy. Germanicus ſaw the impending danger. To cauſe a diverſion, and avoid the united ſtrength of the enemy, he ordered Cæcina, with forty Roman cohorts, to penetrate into the territory of the Bructerians, as far as the river Amiſia. Pedo, at the head of the cavalry, was directed to march along the confines of the Friſians. Germanicus, with four legions, embarked on the lakes *(a)*. One common place of deſtination was appointed: the foot, the cavalry, and the fleet arrived in due time. The Chaucians joined the Roman army; the Bructerians ſet fire to their houſes, and abandoned their country. Lucius Stertinius, with a detachment of the light horſe, was ordered to purſue the fugitives. That officer came up with the enemy, and put the whole body to the rout. Amidſt the ſlaughter that followed, ſome of the ſoldiers were intent on plunder. Among the ſpoils was found the eagle of the nineteenth legion, loſt in the maſſacre of Varus. The army puſhed on with vigour to the fartheſt limit of the Bructerians. The whole country between the river Amiſia and the Luppia, was made a deſart. The Romans were now at a ſmall diſtance from the foreſt of Teutoburgium *(b)*, where the bones of Varus and his legions were ſaid to be ſtill unburied.

LXI. TOUCHED by this affecting circumſtance, Germanicus reſolved to pay the laſt human office to the relics of that unfortunate commander, and his ſlaughtered ſoldiers. The ſame tender ſentiment diffuſed itſelf through the army: ſome felt the touch of nature for their relations, others for their friends; and all lamented the diſaſters of war, and the wretched lot of human kind. Cæcina was ſent forward to explore the woods; where the

the waters were out, to throw up bridges; and, by heaping loads of earth on the ſwampy ſoil, to ſecure a ſolid footing. The army marched through a gloomy ſolitude. The place preſented an awful ſpectacle, and the memory of a tragical event increaſed the horror of the ſcene. The firſt camp of Varus appeared in view. The extent of the ground, and the three different incloſures for the eagles *(a)*, ſtill diſtinctly ſeen, left no doubt but that the whole was the work of the three legions. Farther on were traced the ruins of a rampart, and the hollow of a ditch well nigh filled up. This was ſuppoſed to be the ſpot where the few, who eſcaped the general maſſacre, made their laſt effort, and periſhed in the attempt. The plains around were white with bones, in ſome places thinly ſcattered, in others lying in heaps, as the men happened to fall in flight, or in a body reſiſted to the laſt. Fragments of javelins, and the limbs of horſes, lay ſcattered about the field. Human ſkulls were ſeen upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent woods ſtood the ſavage altars where the tribunes and principal centurions were offered up a ſacrifice with barbarous rites. Some of the ſoldiers who ſurvived that dreadful day, and afterwards broke their chains, related circumſtantially ſeveral particulars. "Here the com-
"manders of the legions were put to the ſword: on that ſpot
"the eagles were ſeized. There Varus received his firſt wound;
"and this the place where he gave himſelf the mortal ſtab, and
"died by his own ſword. Yonder mound was the tribunal
"from which Arminius harangued his countrymen: here he
"fixed his gibbets; there he dug the funeral trenches; and in
"that quarter he offered every mark of ſcorn and inſolence to
"the colours and the Roman eagles."

LXII. Six years had elapſed ſince the overthrow of Varus; and now, on the ſame ſpot, the Roman army collected the bones

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of their ſlaughtered countrymen. Whether they were burying the remains of ſtrangers, or of their own friends, no man knew: all, however, conſidered themſelves as performing the laſt obſequies to their kindred, and their brother ſoldiers. While employed in this pious office, their hearts were torn with contending paſſions; by turns oppreſſed with grief, and burning for revenge. A monument to the memory of the dead was raiſed with turf. Germanicus with his own hand laid the firſt ſod; diſcharging at once the tribute due to the legions, and ſympathizing with the reſt of the army. The whole, though an act of piety to the ſlain, was condemned by Tiberius. The malignity of his nature led him to miſinterpret the actions of Germanicus; perhaps he was apprehenſive, that the view of a field covered with the unburied limbs of a ſlaughtered army, might damp the ardour of the ſoldier, and add to the ferocity of the enemy. There might be another reaſon for his diſpleaſure. Perhaps he thought that a general, inveſted with the office of augur, and other religious functions, ought not to aſſiſt at the performance of funereal rites.

LXIII. GERMANICUS preſſed forward, by rapid marches, in purſuit of Arminius, who fled before him, taking advantage of the defiles, and difficult parts of the country. Having overtaken the Barbarians, and ſeeing his opportunity, he ordered the cavalry to advance on the open plain, and diſlodge the enemy. Arminius drew up his men in cloſe compacted ranks, and feigning a retreat to the foreſt, ſuddenly wheeled about; giving, at the ſame time, the ſignal to the troops that lay ambuſhed in the woods, to ruſh out, and begin the attack. The Roman cavalry, ſtruck with ſurpriſe at the ſudden appearance of a new army, were thrown into diſorder. They fell back upon the cohorts ſent to ſupport them, and a general conſternation followed. The Barbarians

Barbarians purſued their advantage; and had well nigh driven the Romans into a moraſs, well known to themſelves, but impracticable to ſtrangers, when Germanicus came up with the legions in order of battle. At the ſight of a regular force, the Germans were ſtruck with terror. The broken ranks of the Romans had time to rally. Nothing deciſive followed. Both armies parted upon equal terms: Germanicus marched back to the river Amiſia, and with his legions ſailed acroſs the lakes. Part of the cavalry had orders to file along the ſea-coaſt, and by a winding march return to the banks of the Rhine.

Cæcina, at the head of his own diviſion, marched through a country of which he was not ignorant. He had directions to paſs *the long bridges (a)* with all poſſible expedition. The place ſo called is a narrow cauſeway, conſtructed formerly by Lucius Domitius. It ſtretches a great length of way between two prodigious marſhes. The country round is one vaſt fen, in ſome parts covered with a deep and ſlimy mud, in others with a tenacious heavy clay, interſected frequently by rapid torrents. A thick foreſt, riſing at ſome diſtance on a gradual acclivity, incloſed the whole ſcene, and formed a kind of amphitheatre. Arminius, who knew the courſe of the country, made a forced march, and took poſt in the woods, before the Romans, encumbered with arms and heavy baggage, arrived at the place. Cæcina found a double difficulty. The bridges, ruined by time, were to be repaired; and the enemy at the ſame time was to be repulſed. He judged it neceſſary to pitch his camp; as in that ſituation a ſufficient number might work at the cauſeway, while the reſt were held in readineſs to engage the enemy.

LXIV. THE Barbarians made a vigorous effort to force the outpoſts, and penetrate to the men working at the entrench-

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ments. They ruſhed forward with impetuous fury, they wheeled about to the flanks, they returned to charge in front. A mingled ſhout aroſe from the labourers and the combatants. All things ſeemed to conſpire againſt the Romans: the ſlimy ſoil, if the men ſtood ſtill, ſunk under them; if they advanced, it was too ſlippery for their feet. The weight of the ſoldiers armour, and the depth of water, made the management of the javelins almoſt impracticable. The Cheruſcans, on the contrary, were fighting in their own element; they were uſed to fens and marſhes; their ſtature was large, and their ſpears of a length to wound at a diſtance. The legions began to give way, when night came on, and put an end to the unequal conflict. The Barbarians were too much fluſhed with ſucceſs to complain of fatigue, or to think of reſt. During the night they cut a channel for the waters, and from the neighbouring hills let down a deluge into the valley. The plains were laid under water; and the half finiſhed works being carried away by the flood, the ſoldier ſaw that his labour was to begin again.

Cæcina had been forty years in the ſervice. A man of his experience, who had known the viciſſitudes of war, was not to be diſconcerted. He ſaw, between the moraſs and the hills, a plain of ſolid ground, large enough for a ſmall army. To that ſpot, having weighed all circumſtances, he judged it his beſt expedient to ſend the wounded with the heavy baggage, and in the mean time to confine the Germans in their woods. For this purpoſe he ſtationed the fifth legion in the right wing, and the one-and-twentieth in the left; the firſt legion led the van, and the twentieth brought up the rear.

LXV. THE night in both camps was buſy and unquiet, but from different cauſes. The Barbarians paſſed their time in jollity and

and carouſing; warlike ſongs and ſavage howlings kept a conſtant uproar, while the woods and valleys rung with the hideous ſound. In the Roman camp the ſcene was different: pale gleaming fires were ſeen; no ſound, ſave that of low and hollow murmurs; the ſoldiers lay extended at length under the paliſades, or wandered from tent to tent, fatigued and weary, yet ſcarce awake. Cæcina was diſturbed by a terrible dream: he thought that Quintilius Varus emerged from the fens; and calling upon him to follow, waved his hand to point the way. Unwilling to obey the ſummons, Cæcina puſhed the phantom from him. At break of day, the legions which had been ſtationed in the wings, through fear, or a ſpirit of mutiny, abandoned their poſt, and ſeized a piece of ſolid ground beyond the moraſs. Arminius, though the opportunity was fair, did not embrace it: but ſoon after, ſeeing the baggage faſt in the mud, or in the ditches; the ſoldiers gathering round in tumult and diſorder; the eagles in confuſion; and, as in ſuch caſes always happens, each man acting for himſelf, and deaf to the command of his officers; he ordered his men to make a vigorous onſet, exclaiming, as he advanced, "Behold Varus and his legions! their fate "once more has given them to our ſwords."

He charged at the head of a choſen band; and, by gaſhing and mangling the horſes, made a dreadful havoc. Goaded by wounds, and not able to keep their legs on a ſlimy ſoil, which was made ſtill more ſlippery by the effuſion of their own blood, thoſe animals in their fury threw their riders, overturned all in their way, and trampled under their feet the wretches that lay on the ground. The chief diſtreſs was round the eagles: to ſupport them under a heavy volley of darts was difficult, and to fix them in the ſwampy ground impoſſible. Cæcina, exerting himſelf with undaunted vigour to ſuſtain the ranks, had his horſe killed under

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under him. The Barbarians were ready to ſurround him, if the firſt legion had not come up to his aſſiſtance. At length the rage for plunder, natural to ſavages, turned the fortune of the day. Intent on booty, the Germans deſiſted from the fight. The Romans ſeized their advantage, and towards the cloſe of day gained a ſtation on the ſolid ground. Their diſtreſs, however, was not at an end: entrenchments were to be raiſed; earth to be brought; their tools for digging and cutting the ſoil, were loſt; no tents for the ſoldiers; no medicine for the wounded; their proviſions in a vile condition, deformed with filth and blood; a night big with horror hung over their heads; and the enſuing day, to a number of brave and gallant men, might prove the laſt. The ſpirit of the legions ſunk, and all lamented their condition.

LXVI. It happened, in the courſe of the night, that a horſe broke looſe; and, ſcared by the noiſe of the ſoldiers, ran wild through the camp, trampling down all that came in his way. This accident ſpread a general panic. In the firſt hurry of ſurpriſe, it was generally believed that the Germans had ſtormed the entrenchments. The ſoldiers ruſhed to the gates, chiefly to that called the *Decuman (a)*, at the back of the camp, remote from the enemy, and the moſt likely to favour their eſcape. Cæcina knew that it was a falſe alarm; he tried to recal the men from their error; he commanded, he implored, he laid hold of numbers: but finding all without effect, he threw himſelf on the ground, and lay ſtretched at length acroſs the paſſage. At the ſight of their general in that condition, the men recoiled with horror from the outrage of trampling on his body. In that interval, the tribunes and centurions convinced the men that their fears were without foundation.

LXVII. Cæcina aſſembled his men in the part of the camp

aſſigned for the eagles. Having commanded ſilence, he explained their ſituation, and the neceſſity that called upon them to act like men. "They had nothing to depend upon except their "valour; but their valour muſt be cool, deliberate, guided by "prudence. Let all remain within the lines, till the Barbarians, "in hopes of carrying the works, advance to the aſſault. Then "will be the time to ſally out. By one brave effort they might "open a paſſage to the Rhine. If they fled, other woods, and "deeper fens, remained behind; perhaps more ſavage enemies. "By one glorious victory they were ſure of gaining every advan-"tage; honoured by their country, loved by their families, and "applauded by the whole army." The bright ſide of the military life being thus held forth, he ſaid nothing of the reverſe. His next care was to ſelect a body of his braveſt ſoldiers. Theſe he provided with horſes, as well from his own retinue, as from thoſe of the tribunes and centurions, without favour or partiality, diſtinguiſhing merit only. The men thus mounted were to make the firſt impreſſion on the enemy, and the infantry had orders to ſupport the rear.

LXVIII. THE Germans, in the mean time, were no leſs in agitation; their hopes of conqueſt, the love of plunder, and the jarring counſels of their chiefs, diſtracted every mind. The meaſure propoſed by Arminius was, to let the Romans break up their camp, and ſurround them again in the narrow defiles, and in the bogs and marſhes. Inguiomer, more fierce and violent, and for that reaſon more acceptable to the genius of Barbarians, was for ſtorming the camp: it would be carried by a general aſſault; the number of priſoners would be greater, and the booty in better condition. His advice prevailed. At the point of day the attack began: at the firſt onſet the Germans levelled the foſſe, threw in heaps of hurdles, and attempted a ſcalade. The ramparts were thinly

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thinly manned; the ſoldiers, who ſhewed themſelves, put on the appearance of a panic. The Barbarians climbed to the top of the works. In that moment the ſignal was given to the cohorts; clarions and trumpets ſounded through the camp; the Romans in a body, and with one general ſhout, ruſhed on to the attack. They fell upon the enemy in the rear; crying aloud, as they advanced, "Here are no woods, no treacherous fens; we are here "on equal ground, and the gods will decide between us." The Barbarians had promiſed themſelves an eaſy conqueſt. The affair, they imagined, would be with a handful of men; but their ſurpriſe roſe in proportion, when they heard the clangour of trumpets, and ſaw the field glittering with arms. The ſudden terror magnified their danger. To be elated with ſucceſs, and to droop in adverſity, is the genius of ſavage nations. A dreadful ſlaughter followed. The two chiefs betook themſelves to flight; Arminius unhurt, and Inguiomer dangerouſly wounded. No quarter was given to the common men. The purſuit continued as long as day-light and reſentment laſted. Night coming on, the legions returned to their camp, covered with new wounds, and their proviſions no better than the day before: but health, and food, and vigour, all things were found in victory.

LXIX. MEANWHILE a report was ſpread round the country, that the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the Germans, fluſhed with conqueſt, were pouring down to the invaſion of Gaul. The conſternation was ſuch, that numbers propoſed to demoliſh the bridge over the Rhine. Vile as the project was, there were men who, through fear, would have been hardy enough to carry it into execution, if Agrippina had not prevented ſo foul a diſgrace. Superior to the weakneſs of her ſex, ſhe took upon her, with an heroic ſpirit, the functions of a general officer. She attended to the wants of the men; ſhe diſtributed clothes to the indigent,

and medicines to the ſick. Pliny *(a)* has left, in his hiſtory of the wars in Germany, a deſcription of Agrippina, at the head of the bridge, reviewing the ſoldiers as they returned, and with thanks and congratulations applauding their valour. This conduct alarmed the jealous temper of Tiberius: "Such active zeal," he ſaid, "ſprung from ſiniſter motives: thoſe popular virtues had "not for their object the enemies of Rome. The ſoldiers were "careſſed for other purpoſes. What remained for the commander "in chief, if a woman can thus unſex herſelf at the head of the "eagles? She reviews the legions, and by largeſſes draws to her-"ſelf the affections of the men. Was it not enough for her am-"bition, that ſhe ſhewed her ſon to the army, and carried him "from tent to tent, in the uniform of the common ſoldier, with "the title of Cæſar Caligula? This woman towers above the "commanders of the legions, and even above their general officer. "She can ſuppreſs an inſurrection, though the name and majeſty "of the prince makes no impreſſion." Theſe were the reflections that planted thorns in the breaſt of Tiberius. By the arts of Sejanus, the malice of his heart was ſtill more envenomed. That miniſter ſtudied the character of his maſter. He practiſed on his paſſions, and had the ſkill to ſow in time the ſeeds of hatred, which he knew would work in ſecret, and at a diſtant day break out with collected force.

LXX. GERMANICUS, who had ſailed with the legions, thought proper to lighten his ſhips, in order to render them more fit for the navigation of the Northern ſeas, full of ſand banks, and often dangerous both at the flood and the tide of ebb. With this view, he diſembarked the ſecond and the fourteenth legions, and put them under the command of Publius Vitellius *(a)*, with directions to purſue their way over land. Vitellius had at firſt a dry ſhore; But the wind blowing hard from the north, and the waves, as

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uſual at the equinox, rolling with a prodigious ſwell, the ſoldiers were carried away by the torrent. The country was laid under water. The ſea, the ſhore, and the fields preſented one vaſt expanſe. The depths and ſhallows, the quickſands and the ſolid ground, were no more diſtinguiſhed. The men were overwhelmed by the waves, and abſorbed by the eddies. Horſes, baggage, and dead bodies were ſeen floating together. The companies of the legions were mixed in wild confuſion, ſometimes breaſt-high in water, and often deeper. Numbers were carried off by the flood, and loſt for ever. Exhortations and mutual encouragement were of no avail. Valour and cowardice, prudence and temerity, wiſdom and folly, periſhed without diſtinction. Vitellius at length gained an eminence, and drew the legions after him. The night was paſſed in the utmoſt diſtreſs; without fire, without utenſils; many of the ſoldiers naked; the greateſt part wounded, and all in a condition worſe than the horrors of a ſiege. When the enemy is at the gates, an honourable death ſtill remains; but here their fate was wretched and inglorious. The return of day preſented a new face of things: the waters ſubſided, and the land appeared. The general purſued his march to the river Unſingis *(b)*, where Germanicus was arrived with his fleet. The two legions were taken on board. A report of their total loſs was ſpread far and wide, and every day gained credit, till their ſafe return with Germanicus proved the whole to be a falſe alarm.

LXXI. MEANWHILE Stertinius, who had been diſpatched to receive the ſurrender of Segimer, the brother of Segeſtes, conducted that chief, together with his ſon, to the city of the Ubians. A free pardon was granted to both: to Segimer, without heſitation; to the ſon, who was known to have offered indignities to the body of Varus, not without ſome delay. Gaul, Spain, and Italy ſeemed to vie with each other in exertions to repair the

loſſes of the army; each nation offering, according to their reſpective abilities, a ſupply of arms, of horſes, and money. Germanicus thanked them for their zeal, but received arms and horſes only. With his own funds he relieved the wants of the ſoldiers; and to obliterate, or at leaſt ſoften, the recollection of paſt misfortunes, he united with generoſity the moſt conciliating manners. He viſited the ſick; he applauded their bravery; he examined their wounds; he encouraged ſome by promiſes; he rouſed others to a ſenſe of glory; and, in general, filled all hearts with zeal for his perſon and the ſucceſs of his arms.

LXXII. TRIUMPHAL ornaments *(a)* were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their conduct under Germanicus. The title of *Father of his Country*, ſo often preſſed upon him by the people, Tiberius once more declined; nor would he conſent that men ſhould be ſworn on his acts, though a vote for that purpoſe had paſſed the ſenate. For this ſelf-denial, he alleged the inſtability of human affairs, and the danger of the ſovereign, always growing in proportion to the eminence on which he ſtands. Popular as this ſentiment was, no man thought it ſincere. He who had lately revived, in all its rigour, the law of violated majeſty, could not be conſidered as the friend of civil liberty. The title, indeed, of that law was known in ancient times, but the ſpirit of it differed from the modern practice. During the old republic, the treachery that betrayed an army, the ſeditious ſpirit that threw the ſtate into convulſions, the corrupt adminiſtration that impaired the majeſty of the Roman people, were the objects of the law. Men were arraigned for their actions, but words were free. Auguſtus *(b)* was the firſt who warped the law to new devices. The licentious ſpirit of Caſſius Severus, whoſe ſatirical pen had ridiculed the moſt eminent of both ſexes, excited the indignation of the

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prince; and the pains and penalties of violated majeſty were, by a forced conſtruction, extended to defamatory libels. After his example, Tiberius, being aſked by the prætor, Pompeius Macer, whether in ſuch proſecutions judgment ſhould be pronounced, returned for anſwer, that the law muſt take its courſe. The fact was, Tiberius in his turn had felt the edge of ſatire in certain anonymous verſes, circulated at that time, and keenly pointed at his pride, his cruelty, and his diſſenſions with his mother.

LXXIII. It will not be deemed an improper digreſſion, if we ſtate in this place the caſes of two Roman knights, Falanius and Rubrius, both of narrow fortunes, and both attacked under the new mode of proſecution. A review of thoſe proceedings will ſhew the grievance in its origin, and its progreſs *(a)*; how it gathered ſtrength from the wily arts of Tiberius; from what cauſes it was for a time ſuppreſſed, and afterwards revived in all its force, till it proved in the end the moſt deteſtable invention that ever haraſſed mankind. The charge againſt Falanius was, that he had admitted into one of the fraternities, then eſtabliſhed in honour of Auguſtus, one Caſſius, a comedian of profligate manners; and further that, in the ſale of his gardens, he had ſuffered a ſtatue of Auguſtus to be put up to auction with the reſt of his goods. The crime alleged againſt Rubrius was, that, being ſworn on the name of Auguſtus, he was guilty of perjury. Tiberius, as ſoon as he was appriſed of theſe proceedings, wrote to the conſuls—"that divine honours were not decreed to the "memory of his father, in order to lay ſnares for the people. "Caſſius the player, as well as others of his profeſſion, had often "aſſiſted in the games dedicated by Livia to the memory of the "deceaſed emperor; and if his ſtatue, in common with thoſe of "the gods in general, was put up to ſale with the houſe and gar-"dens, the intereſts of religion would not be hurt. A falſe oath

"on

"on the name of Auguſtus was the ſame as a perjury in an "appeal to Jupiter: but the gods muſt be their own avengers."

LXXIV. In a ſhort time after this tranſaction, Granius Marcellus, prætor of Bithynia, was accuſed of violated majeſty by his own quæſtor, Cæpio Criſpinus. The charge was ſupported by Romanus Hiſpo *(a)*, a mercenary advocate, who had then lately ſet up the trade of an informer; that deteſtable trade, which, by the iniquity of the times, and the daring wickedneſs of the vile and profligate, became afterwards the ſource of wealth and ſplendour. Obſcure and indigent, but bold and pragmatical, this man by ſecret informations pampered the cruelty of Tiberius, and wriggled himſelf into favour. By his deteſtable practices he became formidable to the firſt characters in Rome. He gained the ear of the prince, and the hatred of mankind; leaving an example, by which the whole race of his followers roſe from beggary and contempt to wealth and power; till, having wrought the deſtruction of the moſt eminent citizens, they fell at laſt by their own pernicious arts. The accuſation brought by Cæpio Criſpinus, charged Marcellus with having ſpoken defamatory words againſt Tiberius. The charge was big with danger, while the accuſer had the art to bring forward, from the life of the emperor, the worſt of his vices; aſcribing all to the malignity of Marcellus. The words were believed to be ſpoken, becauſe the facts were true.

Hiſpo the pleader added, that the accuſed had placed his own ſtatue higher than the Cæſars; and to a buſt, from which he had ſtruck off the head of Auguſtus *(b)*, united that of Tiberius. The prince, who had hitherto remained ſilent, roſe abruptly; declaring, in a tone of vehemence, that in a cauſe of that importance he would give his vote openly *(c)*, and under the ſanction of

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of an oath. By this expedient the ſame obligation was to be impoſed on the whole aſſembly. But even then, in that black period, expiring liberty ſhewed ſome ſigns of life. Cneius Piſo had the ſpirit to aſk, "In what rank, Cæſar, do you chooſe to "give your voice? If firſt, your opinion muſt be mine; if laſt, "I may have the misfortune to differ from you." Tiberius felt that his warmth had tranſported him too far. He checked his ardour, and had the moderation to conſent that Marcellus ſhould be acquitted on the law of violated majeſty. There remained behind a charge of peculation *(d)*, and that was referred to the proper juriſdiction.

LXXV. THE criminal proceedings before the ſenate were not enough to glut the malice of Tiberius: he attended the ordinary courts of juſtice; taking his ſeat near the corner of the tribunal, that he might not diſplace the prætor from his curule chair. In his preſence, which had the effect of controuling the intrigues of the great, ſeveral juſt deciſions were pronounced: but even this was big with miſchief; truth was ſerved *(a)*, and liberty went to ruin. Pius Aurelius, a member of the ſenate, complained to that aſſembly, that, by the making of a public road, and laying an aqueduct, the foundation of his houſe was ruined; he therefore prayed to be indemnified. The prætors of the treaſury oppoſed his petition. Tiberius, however, ſtruck with the juſtice of the caſe, paid the value of the houſe. The littleneſs of avarice was no part of his character. When fair occaſions called for liberality, he was ready to open his purſe; and this munificent ſpirit he retained for a long time, when every other virtue was extinguiſhed. Propertius Celer, a man of prætorian family, but diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, deſired to abdicate his rank of ſenator. The ſtate of indigence in which he lived being found to be the conſequence of hereditary poverty, he

he received a donation of a thouſand great ſeſterces. A number of applications of the ſame nature followed ſoon after; but Tiberius required that the allegations of each petition ſhould be proved. The auſterity of his nature mixed with his beſt actions a leaven of harſhneſs, that embittered his favours. By the rigour of the prince diſtreſs was ſilenced: ingenuous minds choſe to languiſh in obſcurity, rather than ſeek, by humiliating confeſſions, a precarious, and at beſt a painful, relief.

LXXVI. In the courſe of this year, the Tiber, ſwelled by continual rains, laid the level parts of the city under water. When the flood ſubſided, men and houſes were waſhed away by the torrent. Aſinius Gallus propoſed to conſult the books of the Sybils *(a)*; but Tiberius, dark and abſtruſe in matters of religion as well as civil buſineſs, overruled the motion. The care of preventing inundations for the future was committed to Ateius Capito and Lucius Arruntius. The provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, being found unequal to the taxes impoſed upon them, were relieved from the expence of ſupporting a proconſular government *(b)*, and for the preſent transferred to the ſurperintendance of the emperor. Druſus, in his own name, and that of his brother Germanicus, exhibited a ſpectacle of gladiators, and preſided in perſon; delighted, more than became his rank, with the effuſion of blood, and, by conſequence, giving to the populace no favourable impreſſion of his character. Tiberius, it is ſaid, reproved him for his indiſcretion. Why he himſelf did not attend the public games, various reaſons were aſſigned. According to ſome, "numerous aſſemblies were not his taſte, and "crowds fatigued him." Others aſcribed it to the phlegmatic genius of the man, fond of ſolitude, and willing to avoid a compariſon with the gracious manners of Auguſtus, who was always a cheerful ſpectator on ſuch occaſions. That he intended, with

covered

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covered malice, to afford Druſus an opportunity of laying open the ferocity of his nature, and thereby of giving umbrage to the people, ſeems rather a ſtrained conſtruction; yet even this was ſaid at the time.

LXXVII. The diſorders, occaſioned by theatrical factions in the preceding year, broke out again with increaſing fury. Numbers of the common people, and even many of the ſoldiers, with their centurion, exerting themſelves to quell the tumult, and defend the magiſtrate, were killed in the fray. A tribune of the prætorian guard was wounded on the occaſion. The affair was taken into conſideration by the ſenate. The fathers were on the point of paſſing a vote, inveſting the prætor with authority to order the players to be publicly whipped. This was oppoſed by Haterius Agrippa, a tribune of the people, who by his ſpeech drew upon himſelf a ſharp reply from Aſinius Gallus. Tiberius with deep reſerve liſtened to the debate. To ſee the ſenators amuſing themſelves with a ſhow of liberty, filled him with ſecret ſatisfaction. The motion, however, paſſed in the negative. The authority of Auguſtus, who had formerly decided that the players were not liable to that mode of puniſhment *(a)*, had great weight with the fathers; and what was eſtabliſhed by that prince, Tiberius would not preſume to alter. To fix the ſalary *(b)* of the players at a certain ſum, and to repreſs the zeal of their partizans, ſeveral decrees were paſſed: the moſt material were, "That no ſenator ſhould enter the houſe of a "pantomime performer; that the Roman knights ſhould not "attend the players in the ſtreet; no exhibition to be preſented "in any place except the theatre; and all who engaged in riots "were liable to be baniſhed by the ſentence of the prætor."

LXXVIII. In conſequence of a petition from Spain, leave was given to erect a temple to Auguſtus in the colony of Terragon.

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By this decree a precedent was held forth to all the provinces. The people of Rome preſented a petition, praying that the payment of the hundredth part *(a)*, which was a tax on all vendible commodities impoſed ſince the cloſe of the civil wars, might be remitted for the future. Tiberius declared, by public edict, "That "the ſupport of the army depended upon that fund; and even "with thoſe reſources the commonwealth was unequal to the "charge, unleſs the veterans were retained in the ſervice for the "full term of twenty years." By this artful ſtroke, the regulations limiting the time to ſixteen years, which had been extorted during the ſedition in Germany, were in effect repealed, and rendered void for the future.

LXXIX. A PROJECT to prevent inundations, by giving a new courſe to the lakes and rivers that empty themſelves into the Tiber, was propoſed to the ſenate by Lucius Arruntius and Ateius Capito. The municipal towns and colonies were heard in oppoſition to the meaſure. The Florentines ſtated, "That if "the Clanis were diverted from its channel, and made to flow "by a new courſe into the Arno, their whole country would be "ruined." The inhabitants of Interamna made the like objection; contending that "if the Nar, according to the plan pro-"poſed, were divided into various rivulets, the moſt fertile plains "in Italy would be no better than a barren waſte." Nor did the people of Reaté remain ſilent: they remonſtrated that "if the "communication, by which the lake Velinus fell into the Nar, were "obſtructed, the adjacent country would be laid under water. Na-"ture had wiſely provided for the intereſts of man; it was ſhe "that aſſigned to rivers their fountain-head, their proper channel, "and their influx into the ſea. Beſides this, the religion of the "allies of Rome claimed reſpect. Conſidering the rivers of their "country as under the patronage of tutelary gods, they had in

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"various places eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip, and dedicated their "prieſts, their altars, and their ſacred groves. The Tiber too, "deprived of his tributary waters, would be reduced, not with-"out indignation, to an inglorious ſtream." Convinced by this reaſoning, or deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking, perhaps influenced by ſuperſtitious motives, the ſenate went over to the opinion of Piſo, who declared againſt all innovation.

LXXX. THE government of Mæſia was continued to Poppæus Sabinus, with the ſuperadded provinces of Achaia and Macedonia. In the character of Tiberius it was a peculiar feature, that he was ever unwilling to remove men from their employments. Hence the ſame perſon remained for life at the head of the ſame army, or in the government of the ſame province. For this conduct different reaſons have been aſſigned. By ſome we are told that he hated the pain of thinking; and, to avoid further ſolicitude, the choice, which he once made, was decided for life. Others will have it, that the malignity of his nature was the ſecret motive of a man, who did not wiſh to ſee too many made happy by his favours. The problem was ſolved by others in a different way. His diſcernment, they obſerve, was quick and penetrating; but his judgment ſlow and anxious. He thought with ſubtlety, and refined till he embarraſſed himſelf; and, though he never was the patron of virtue, he deteſted vice. Superior merit made him tremble for himſelf, and he thought bad men a diſgrace to the age. In this manner divided between oppoſite extremes, thinking without deciſion, and reaſoning but to heſitate, he has been known to appoint to the government of provinces, men, whom he never ſuffered to depart from Rome.

LXXXI. OF the conſular elections, either in this year, or during the reſt of his reign, nothing can be ſaid with preciſion.

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His own ſpeeches, as well as the hiſtorians of the time, are ſo much at variance, that nothing like ſyſtem can be traced. We ſee the emperor, in ſome inſtances, holding the name of the candidate in reſerve, yet by an account of his birth, his public conduct, and his military ſervices, pointing directly to the man. At other times he refuſes even that ſatisfaction, content with general directions to the candidates, not to embroil the election by intrigue or bribery, but to leave the whole to his management. His cuſtom in general was to profeſs, that he knew no candidates but thoſe, whoſe names he had tranſmitted to the conſuls; others, he ſaid, were free to offer themſelves, if, from their merit or their intereſt, they conceived hopes of ſucceſs. With ſpeeches of this nature, plauſible indeed, but unſubſtantial, the people were amuſed. A ſhow of liberty was held forth, fair in appearance, but deceitful, and, for that reaſon, tending to plunge mankind in deeper ſervitude.

THE

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OF

TACITUS.

BOOK II.

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Theſe tranſactions include four years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls.
769	16	*Statilius Siſenna Taurus, L. Scribonius Libo.*
770	17	*C. Cæcilius Rufus, L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus.*
771	18	*Tiberius Cæſar, 3d time; Germanicus, 2d.*
772	19	*M. Junius Silanus, L. Norbanus Flaccus.*

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I. DURING the conſulſhip of Siſenna Statilius Taurus and Lucius Libo, the oriental kingdoms, and, by conſequence, the Roman provinces were thrown into commotion. The flame of diſcord was lighted up among the Parthians. That reſtleſs people had ſued for a king at the hands of Rome; and after acknowledging his title, as a deſcendant from the line of the Arſacides *(a)*, began with their natural levity to deſpiſe him, as an alien to the crown. Vonones was the name of this unpopular prince: he had been formerly ſent by his father Phraates *(b)* as an hoſtage to Auguſtus. The Eaſtern monarch made head againſt the armies of Rome, and had driven her generals out of his dominions; but he endeavoured, notwithſtanding, by every

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mark of reſpect, to conciliate the friendſhip of Auguſtus. As a pledge of ſincerity, he went the length of delivering up to the cuſtody of the Romans even his own children, not ſo much with a deſign to avert the terror of their arms, as from want of confidence in the fidelity of his own ſubjects.

II. AFTER the death of Phraates, and the kings who ſucceeded him, the leading men of the nation, tired of civil ſlaughter, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, with inſtructions to invite Vonones, the eldeſt ſon of Phraates, to the throne of his anceſtors. A nation ready to receive a ſovereign from the will of Auguſtus, preſented to that emperor *(a)* a ſcene truly magnificent. He diſpatched Vonones, richly loaded with preſents. The Barbarians, pleaſed, as is their cuſtom, with the opening of a new reign, received the prince with all demonſtrations of joy. But diſaffection ſoon took place; they repented of their choice, and ſaw, with regret, the diſgrace which their tame ſubmiſſion had brought upon their country. "The Parthians," they ſaid, "were a degenerate race, "who meanly ſtooped to ſue in another world, and invited to "reign over them an exotic king, trained up by the Romans, "fraught with their maxims, and tainted by their manners. The "kingdom of the Arſacides was at length reduced to a Roman "province, to be dealt out at the pleaſure of the emperor. "Where now the glory of thoſe gallant heroes who put Craſſus "to death, and made Mark Anthony fly before them? The ſlave "of Cæſar, who crouched ſo many years in bondage, gives the "law to the Parthians." Such were the prejudices of the people. The conduct of Vonones inflamed their indignation. He renounced the manners of his country; was rarely ſeen in the ſports of the chaſe; he took no delight in horſemanſhip, and in his progreſs through the kingdom lolled at eaſe in a litter. He diſdained, with faſtidious pride, to have his table ſerved agreeably

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to the national taſte; his train of Greek attendants gave diſguſt; and the paltry attention, that ſecured the moſt trifling articles under a ſeal *(b)*, excited the contempt and ridicule of the people. To be eaſy of acceſs, was want of dignity; and courteous manners degraded the prince. Virtues new to the Parthians were new vices. Between his good and evil qualities no diſtinction was made: they were foreign manners, and for that reaſon deteſted.

III. In this diſpoſition of the public mind, the crown was offered to Artabanus, a deſcendant of Arſaces, educated among the Dahi. This prince, after a defeat in his firſt engagement, reinforced his army, and gained poſſeſſion of the crown. Vonones fled to Armenia *(a)*, where, in that juncture, the throne was vacant; but an irreſolute and wavering people could form no ſettled plan. They turned their thoughts firſt to Rome, and next to the Parthians, acting with alternate treachery to both. The inſidious conduct of Mark Anthony, who allured their king Artavaſdes to his friendſhip, then loaded him with chains, and baſely murdered him, was freſh in their minds. Artaxias, the ſon of that unfortunate prince, conceived from that tragic event a rooted averſion to the Roman name. He aſcended the throne of his father, and with the aſſiſtance of the Parthians ſtood at bay with Rome, till he fell at laſt by the perfidy of his own relations. After his death, Tigranes, by the appointment of Auguſtus, was raiſed to the throne. Tiberius Nero, at the head of a powerful army, conducted him to the capital of his dominions. The reign of this prince was ſhort. His iſſue ſucceeded; but the line became extinct, notwithſtanding the intermarriages of brother and ſiſter *(b)*, allowed by the policy of eaſtern nations, to ſtrengthen the royal line. By order of Auguſtus, Artavaſdes *(c)* ſucceeded. To ſupport his cauſe, Rome exerted her ſtrength,

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and ſpilt the blood of her armies, but without ſucceſs. The new king was driven from the throne.

IV. In that juncture *(a)*, Caius Cæſar was ſent to compoſe the troubles in Armenia. With the conſent of the people, that young commander placed the crown on the head of Ariobarzanes, by birth a Mede, diſtinguiſhed by his rare accompliſhments, and his graceful figure. After the death of this prince, who loſt his life by an accident, the people refuſed obedience to his deſcendants. A woman of the name of Erato ſucceeded; but a female reign did not laſt long. From that time the nation continued in a ſtate of anarchy, without a maſter, yet not in poſſeſſion of liberty. It was in this poſture of affairs that Vonones entered Armenia. The people received him with open arms. Artabanus, in the mean time, threatened to invade the kingdom. The Armenians were not in force; and Rome, without undertaking an expenſive war againſt the Parthians, could not eſpouſe their cauſe. Vonones fled for ſhelter to Creticus Silanus *(b)*, the governor of Syria. That officer promiſed his protection; but afterwards thought proper to ſecure the perſon of the prince, leaving him, under a ſtrong guard, to enjoy the title of king, and the parade of royalty. The efforts which Vonones made to eſcape from this mock-dignity, ſhall be related in due time.

V. Tiberius, with his uſual phlegm, ſaw the ſtorm gathering in the Eaſt. Commotions in that part of the world might furniſh an opportunity to remove Germanicus from an army devoted to his perſon, and to employ him in new ſcenes of action, and in diſtant provinces, where he would be expoſed to the chance of war, and more within the reach of treachery. Germanicus, meanwhile, finding the legions zealous in his ſervice, and the malice of Tiberius ſtill implacable, began to conſider how he might ſtrike

ſtrike a deciſive blow, and by one ſignal victory conclude the war. For this purpoſe he reviewed his operations in the three laſt campaigns, with the various turns of good and evil fortune which he had experienced. He obſerved that "the Germans, in a "pitched battle, or on equal ground, were always defeated; "woods and fens protected them; and the ſhortneſs of the ſummer, with the quick return of winter, favoured their cauſe. "It was not ſo much the ſword of the enemy, as the fatigue of "long and difficult marches, that thinned the Roman army. "The loſs of military weapons was an additional evil. Horſes "were not to be procured in Gaul, that country being well nigh "exhauſted. The baggage of the army, liable to ambuſcades, was "always defended at great diſadvantage. An expedition by ſea "promiſed better ſucceſs. The army might penetrate at once "into the heart of the country; and the Germans, unappriſed of "that mode of attack, would be taken by ſurpriſe. The campaign would be ſooner opened; the legions and their proviſions might advance together; men and horſes would arrive in "good condition; and, with the advantage of harbours for the "fleet, and navigable rivers up the country, the war might be "puſhed to the very heart of Germany."

VI. THIS plan of operations being judged the beſt, he ſent Publius Vitellius and Caius Cantius to convene the ſtates of Gaul; and, in the mean time, committed the care of building a fleet to Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina. A thouſand veſſels (that number being deemed ſufficient) were ſoon in readineſs, but not all conſtructed on one uniform principle. Some were of a ſhorter ſize, ſharpened to a point at the ſtern and prow, and broad in the middle, the better to endure the fury of the waves; others were flat-bottomed, that they might without difficulty run in upon the ſhore. A great number had rudders at each end, that, by a ſudden

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ſudden turn of the oars, they might work with facility either way. In many of the ſhips, formed as well to carry ſail as to advance with the ſtroke of the oar, arches were raiſed on the decks, of ſtrength to bear the engines of war, and at the ſame time afford room for horſes and proviſions. The fleet, thus equipped, diſplayed a magnificent ſpectacle; while the ſwell of the ſails, the alacrity of the oars, and the buſtle of the ſoldiers, ſtruck a general terror. The iſle of Batavia *(a)* was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. The ſhore in thoſe parts being eaſy of approach, the troops might be ſpeedily landed, and again embarked with expedition, ſo as to ſpread an alarm through the country. The Rhine, embracing in its courſe a few ſmall iſlands, flows in one united ſtream, till it reaches the point of Batavia; where it branches off in two different channels; one running with rapid force along the confines of Germany, and, till it falls into the ocean, ſtill retaining its original name; the other, with a wider but leſs violent current, waſhes the ſide of Gaul, and by the inhabitants is called the Wahal, till at laſt, loſing itſelf in the Meuſe, it takes the name of that river, and through an immenſe opening diſcharges itſelf into the German Ocean.

VII. WHILE the fleet was preparing for the expedition, Germanicus ordered Silius, with a light detachment, to make an irruption into the territory of the Cattians. Meanwhile, having intelligence that the fort upon the river Luppia was inveſted, he marched himſelf, at the head of ſix legions, to relieve the garriſon. A ſudden fall of heavy rains obliged Silius to deſiſt from his enterprize. He returned with a moderate booty, and two priſoners; one the wife, the other the daughter, of Arpus, prince of the Cattians. Germanicus was not able to bring the Germans to an engagement. He no ſooner appeared before the place, than the enemy

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enemy raiſed the ſiege, and conſulted their ſafety by flight. It was found, however, that they had levelled to the ground the monument erected the year before to Varus and his legions, and likewiſe an ancient altar dedicated to Druſus. The prince rebuilt the altar; and joining with the legions in equeſtrian games, performed a funeral ceremony *(a)* in honour of his father. He did not judge it adviſable to reſtore the tomb, which had been erected to Varus and the legions; but, with a chain of fortified poſts, he ſecured the whole country between Fort Aliſo and the Rhine.

VIII. THE fleet aſſembled at the place appointed. Germanicus ordered the military ſtores to be ſent on board; and, having completed the embarkation of the legions and the allies, ſailed through the canal, called the canal of Druſus *(a)*, invoking his father to aſſiſt the enterprize, and by the memory of his example to guide and animate his ſon, now purſuing the ſame track of glory. The fleet proceeded over the lakes *(b)*; and, entering the German Ocean, ſtretched away as far as the river Amiſia. There, at a place of the ſame name *(c)* on the left-hand ſhore, he landed his men, leaving his ſhips ſafe at their moorings. This meaſure was ill concerted. The debarkation ſhould have been made higher up the country, and on the oppoſite bank, where the enemy had taken poſt. The miſtake made it neceſſary to throw bridges over the river, and in that buſineſs ſeveral days were conſumed. At low water the cavalry and the legions forded over the æſtuary without difficulty; but the rear, conſiſting of the auxiliary forces, was overtaken by the return of the tide, and thrown into diſorder. The Batavians, in particular, eager to ſhew their dexterity in ſwimming, continued ſporting in the waves, till the rapidity of the current overwhelmed them. Some loſt their lives. Germanicus pitched his camp. While he was employed in marking out the lines, he received advice

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advice that the Angrivarians, whom he had left behind him, were in motion. To check their progreſs, he ſent a detachment of light infantry, under the command of Stertinius, who chaſtiſed the treachery of the Barbarians, and laid the country waſte with fire and ſword.

IX. THE Viſurgis flowed between the Romans and Cheruſcans. On the oppoſite bank Arminius preſented himſelf. He was attended by the principal German chiefs. His buſineſs was to know whether Germanicus was with the army being anſwered in the affirmative, he deſired an interview with his brother, known to the Romans by the name of Flavius; a man of ſtrict fidelity, who ſome years before, under the conduct of Tiberius, loſt an eye in battle. The meeting was permitted. Flavius advanced to the margin of the river. Arminius, from the oppoſite ſide, ſaluted him; and, having ordered his guards to fall back, required that the Roman archers ſhould withdraw in like manner. The two brothers being left to themſelves, Arminius fixed his eye on Flavius; and, Whence, he ſaid, that deformity of feature? He was told the battle and the place where it happened. And what, continued Arminius, has been your recompence? I have received, ſaid Flavius, an augmentation of pay *(a)*, a military chain, an ornamental crown, and other honours. Arminius burſt into a laugh of ſcorn and indignation. "They "are the wages," he ſaid, "of a ſlave cheaply purchaſed."

X. A WARM altercation followed. Flavius talked of the majeſty of Rome, the power of the Cæſars, the weight with which their vengeance falls on the obſtinate, and their clemency to the nations willing to ſubmit. He added, "Your wife and ſon are "in the hands of Rome, and neither of them has been treated "like a captive." Arminius, on the contrary, urged the rights

of men born in freedom, the laws of his country, the plan of ancient liberty, and the gods of Germany. "Your mother," he ſaid, "joins with me in earneſt ſupplication: we both conjure "you not to deſert your family; not to betray your friends, nor "prefer the deteſted name of traitor, to the vaſt renown of "commanding armies in defence of your country." By degrees their paſſions roſe to a pitch of fury, inſomuch that the river could not have reſtrained them from deciding their quarrel by the ſword, if Stertinius had not checked the impetuoſity of Flavius, who ſtood burning with reſentment, and calling aloud for his horſe and his arms. Arminius behaved with equal fury, in his ſtorm of paſſion denouncing vengeance, and threatening the iſſue of a battle. What he ſaid was perfectly underſtood. He had commanded the auxiliaries of his country, acting in conjunction with the legions, and, having converſed in the Roman camp, was able to interlard his diſcourſe with Latin expreſſions.

XI. On the following day, the Germans appeared on the other ſide of the Viſurgis, drawn up in order of battle. Germanicus, till he had thrown bridges over the river, and made each paſs ſecure, did not think it adviſable to expoſe his legions to the hazard of an engagement. In the mean time, to cauſe a diverſion of the enemy, he ordered the cavalry, under the conduct of Stertinius, and Æmilius, one of the principal centurions *(a)*, to ford over at two different places. Cariovalda, at the head of his Batavians, advanced where the current was moſt rapid. The Cheruſcans feigned a flight. Cariovalda purſuing with too much eagerneſs, puſhed on to a place encompaſſed with woods, and fell into an ambuſcade. The enemy ruſhed on to the attack with impetuous fury. They bore down all who reſiſted, and preſſed on ſuch as gave way. The Batavians formed a ring, and were ſurrounded on every ſide. The Germans, at a diſtance, diſcharged

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a volley of darts, while ſome of them, more eager than the reſt, fought hand to hand in cloſe engagement. Cariovalda ſuſtained the ſhock with undaunted valour. Finding himſelf, at length, in danger of being overpowered, he exhorted his men to form in platoons, and bravely open a paſſage through the ranks of the enemy. He ruſhed forward into the heat of the action; but his horſe being killed, he fell under a ſhower of darts, and died ſword in hand. Several of the prime nobility of his country periſhed with him. The reſt found their ſafety either in their own valour, or the timely ſuccour of Stertinius and Æmilius, who came up with the cavalry.

XII. GERMANICUS, in the mean time, having paſſed the Viſurgis, found by a deſerter, that Arminius had already fixed upon a ſpot for a general action, and being reinforced by other nations, then actually aſſembled in a foreſt ſacred to Hercules *(a)*, was determined in the dead of night to ſtorm the Roman camp. This intelligence was thought worthy of credit. The fires of the enemy gleamed at a diſtance; the ſcouts, who advanced to reconnoitre their poſts, heard the neighing of horſes, and the buſtle of a prodigious but undiſciplined multitude. In this important moment, on the eve of a deciſive battle, the Roman general thought it a point of moment to explore the ſentiments and inclinations of his men. How to accompliſh this, with a degree of certainty, was a difficult point. The tribunes and centurions ſtudied more to "bring in agreeable reports, than to relate the "truth. The freedmen ſtill retained an original leaven of ſervility, "and friends were prone to flattery. In an aſſembly of the ſol- "diers, a few forward ſpirits took the lead, and the whole herd "was ready to follow. To ſound the real ſentiments of the army, "the ſoldier muſt be taken in his unguarded moments, removed "from the eye of his officer, at table with his comrades, when,

" with frank ſimplicity he ſpeaks his mind, and tells his hopes " and fears without reſerve."

XIII. As ſoon as night came on, the prince went forth, through the augural gate *(a)*, covered with the ſkin of a wild beaſt. A ſingle attendant followed him. He purſued his way through devious paths, unknown to the ſentinels, ſtopping frequently near the tents, and liſtening to his own fame. The nobility of his deſcent was the topic with ſome; others praiſed the dignity of his perſon; the greater part talked of his patience, his courage, and that happy temperament, which, upon all occaſions, ſevere or lively, ſtill preſerved the dignity of his character. To ſuch a commander, the place to ſhew their gratitude was the field of battle; there the Barbarians ought to ſuffer for their perfidy; and there the violator of public treaties ſhould be doomed a ſacrifice to the glory of Germanicus. Amidſt theſe diſcourſes, a ſoldier from the adverſe camp, who could ſpeak the Roman language, rode up to the entrenchments, and, in the name of Arminius, proclaimed aloud a promiſe of wives and lands to every deſerter, beſides a hundred ſeſterces for his daily pay, during the continuance of the war. This was felt as an affront: the ſoldiers cried out with indignation, " The dawn of day ſhall ſee us in the field: " let Arminius riſque a battle: the lands of his countrymen ſhall " be ours by conqueſt, and their wives ſhall be carried off in cap- " tivity. The offer is an omen of victory. The wealth and the " women of Germany ſhall be the reward of valour." At the third watch *(b)*, the enemy advanced to the entrenchments; but perceiving the works properly guarded, the cohorts under arms, and all intent on duty, they retreated, without ſo much as throwing a ſingle dart.

XIV. GERMANICUS retired to reſt, and in his ſleep was

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favoured with a joyful viſion. Being employed, as he imagined, at a ſacrifice, and the blood of the victim happening to ſtain his pontifical garment, his grandmother Livia made him a preſent of another robe, no leſs beautiful than magnificent. Pleaſed with this prognoſtic, which the auſpices confirmed, he called an aſſembly of the ſoldiers, and, in a ſpeech, acquainted them with his plan for the enſuing battle. The open plain, he obſerved, was not the only ſpot where the Romans could engage with advantage. Woods and foreſts were equally favourable. The unwieldy buckler of the Germans, and that enormous length of ſpear, which, amidſt ſurrounding trees and interwoven thickets, was ſcarcely manageable, could not be compared to the Roman ſword, the javelin, and their defenſive armour, ſo well adapted to the ſhape and motions of the body. "Redouble your blows," he ſaid, "and ſtrike at the face of the enemy. They have neither helmets, nor breaſt-plates. Their ſhields are neither rivetted with iron, nor covered with hides; they are nothing but ozier twigs intertwined, or ſlight boards, daubed over with glaring colours. In their foremoſt ranks a few are provided with pikes and javelins; in the reſt of their army you ſee nothing but ſtakes hardened in the fire, or weapons too ſhort for execution. The aſpect of their men may, at firſt ſight, be hideous; in the onſet they may have bodily vigour: but let them feel the anguiſh of their wounds, and they betake themſelves to flight, impatient of pain, void of honour, and regardleſs of their officers; cowards in adverſity, and, in the hour of ſucceſs, above all laws, both human and divine. Do you wiſh, my fellow ſoldiers, for an end of all your toils? Are you weary of tedious voyages, and laborious marches? Now is your opportunity: one battle ends the war. The Elb is nearer than the Rhine. Beyond this ſpot we have nothing to ſubdue. It was here that Druſus, my father, triumphed; and here, Tiberius,

"my

" my uncle, reaped his laurels. Exert one vigorous effort, and " you make me their rival, perhaps their equal in glory." This ſpeech was received with acclamations; and the ardour of the men blazing out at once, the ſignal for the charge was given.

XV. ARMINIUS and the German chiefs omitted nothing that could rouſe the courage of their men. " Behold," they ſaid, " the refuſe of the Varian army; a ſet of daſtards in the field, " and rebels in their camp. With their backs ſeamed with ſtripes, " their limbs enervated, their ſtrength exhauſted by tempeſtuous " voyages, diſpirited, weak, and void of hope, they are given to " our ſwords, a ſacrifice to the gods, and the victims of German " valour. To avoid a fiercer enemy they fled to the ocean, " where we could neither attack, nor hang upon their rear. In " the enſuing battle the winds cannot befriend them; their oars " can give them no aſſiſtance. Call to mind their pride, their " avarice, and their cruelty: above all, let us remember to act " like men, who have reſolved to live in freedom, or to die with " glory."

XVI. By theſe and ſuch like incentives the Germans were inflamed with uncommon ardour. Their chiefs conducted them, burning with impatience, to an open plain, called the Idiſtaviſian vale *(a)*, ſituate between the Viſurgis and a chain of mountains. The ground was of an irregular form, narrow in ſome parts, where the hills projected forward, and in others, where the windings of the river made an opening, ſtretching into length. In the rear of the Germans, and at a ſmall diſtance, roſe a thick foreſt *(b)*; the trees large and lofty, with branches expanding near the top; but the trunks bare towards the bottom, and the intermediate ſpace clear of underwood. Of this plain, and the approaches to the wood, the Barbarians took poſſeſſion.

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The Cheruſcans, apart from the reſt *(c)*, took poſt on the hills, to watch the fortune of the day, and in good time to pour down with fury on the Roman army. Germanicus ranged his men in the following order: the Gauls and German auxiliaries formed the front of the line, followed by a body of archers on foot, and four legions, with Germanicus at the head of two prætorian cohorts, and a ſelect body of cavalry. Four other legions, with the light infantry, the horſe-archers, and the remainder of the allies, brought up the rear. The whole army proceeded in order of battle, all inſtructed to preſerve their ranks, and to receive with firmneſs the firſt impreſſion of the enemy.

XVII. The Cheruſcans, too impatient to keep their poſt, ruſhed with impetuoſity from their hills. Germanicus no ſooner ſaw their motions, than he ſent a choſen body of horſe to charge them in flank, while Stertinius, with another detachment, wheeled round to fall upon the rear. The general himſelf was ready, if occaſion required, to ſecond the attack at the head of the legions. In that moment eight eagles were ſeen ſtretching with rapid wing towards the wood, where they entered, and diſappeared. This was received as an omen of victory. "Advance," ſaid Germanicus; "the Roman birds have marſhalled you the "way. Purſue the tutelar deities of the legions." The infantry began the aſſault in front: the cavalry, at the ſame time, charged the flank and rear. The Barbarians, thrown into confuſion, preſented an uncommon ſpectacle: thoſe who had been ſtationed in the woods were driven forward to the plain; and from the plain, the foremoſt lines fled for ſhelter to the woods. Between both the Cheruſcans were driven down from their heights. Arminius, their chief, performed wonders. Wounded as he was, he braved every danger; with his voice, with his hand, with every effort ſtill ſuſtaining the combat. He fell with fury on the

the archers, and would have opened his way, had not the Rhætian cohorts, with the Gauls and the Vindelici, advanced their ſtandards to oppoſe him. Indebted to his own exertions, and the vigour of his horſe, he eſcaped from the field; and, to diſguiſe his perſon, beſmeared his face with his own blood. If report is to be credited, the Chaucians, then ſerving as the allies of Rome, knew his perſon, but connived at his eſcape.

By the like gallant behaviour, or a ſimilar treachery, Inguiomer ſurvived the havock of the day. A general carnage followed. Numbers endeavouring to ſwim acroſs the Viſurgis, periſhed in the attempt, overwhelmed with darts, or carried away by the violence of the current. The multitude that plunged into the water obſtructed one another; and, the banks giving way, were cruſhed under the load. Some were daſtardly enough to ſeek their ſafety by climbing up the trees, where they hoped to ſculk among the branches: but the Roman archers, in ſport and deriſion, took aim at the fugitives; and in that manner, or by felling the trees, they were all deſtroyed. The victory was ſignal, and coſt the Romans little or no effuſion of blood.

XVIII. The ſlaughter laſted from the fifth hour *(a)* to the cloſe of day. The country, ten miles round, was covered with mangled bodies, and the arms of the vanquiſhed. Among the ſpoils was found a large quantity of fetters, which the Barbarians, anticipating a certain victory, had prepared for the Roman priſoners. The legions on the field of battle proclaimed Tiberius Imperator *(b)*; and having raiſed a mount, placed on the top of it a pile of German arms, as the trophies of victory, with an inſcription at the baſe, ſetting forth the names of the conquered nations.

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XIX. To the German mind nothing could be ſo exaſperating as this monument of Roman glory. The wounds received in battle, the deſolation of their country, and the wretched condition to which they were reduced, were all as nothing compared to this inſulting memorial. Preparing but a little before to abandon their habitations, and ſeek new ſettlements beyond the Elbe, they changed their minds, and once more reſolved to try the hazard of a battle. The nobles and the populace, the old and young, all ranks and claſſes of men appeared in arms. They purſued the Romans on their march; they haraſſed the rear, and often threw them into diſorder. Reſolved at length to riſk a battle, they choſe for that purpoſe a narrow and ſwampy plain, incloſed on one ſide by a river *(a)*, and on the other by a thick wood, at the back of which lay a deep moraſs. A rampart, formerly thrown up by the Angrivarians, as a barrier between themſelves and the Cheruſcans, incloſed one ſide of the fen. On this ſpot the Barbarians ſtationed their infantry. Their cavalry lay in ambuſh in the woods, with intent, as ſoon as the Romans advanced, to attack them by ſurpriſe, and cut off the rear of the army.

XX. GERMANICUS had intelligence of all that paſſed. Their ſtations, their councils of war, their public debates, their ſecret reſolutions were all diſcovered; and their own devices were turned againſt themſelves. The command of the horſe was given to Seius Tubero, with orders to form on the open plain. The infantry was ſo diſpoſed, that by an eaſy paſs one diviſion might penetrate into the woods, while the other carried the rampart by aſſault. Whatever was difficult or arduous the general reſerved for himſelf, leaving all ſlighter operations to his officers. On the level plain the cavalry bore down all before them;

them; but the rampart was not eaſily taken. The ſoldiers who advanced to the attack were as much expoſed to the darts of the enemy, as if they had been before the walls of a regular fortification. Germanicus ſaw the diſadvantage. He drew off the legions; and ordered the engineers and ſlingers to play upon the works, in order to drive the Barbarians from their poſt. A volley of darts was diſcharged from the battering machines with ſuch inceſſant fury, that the braveſt of the Germans, who dared to face every danger, died under repeated wounds. The enemy was diſlodged from the rampart. Germanicus, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, advanced into the woods: the battle there was fierce and obſtinate: both ſides fought hand to hand. Behind the Barbarians lay the moraſs; in the rear of the Romans the river and the woods; no room to retreat; valour their only hope, and victory their only ſafety.

XXI. THE martial ſpirit of the Germans yielded in nothing to the Romans; but their weapons, and their manner of fighting, were a great diſadvantage. Pent up in a foreſt too cloſe for ſuch a multitude, they could neither wound at a diſtance, nor manage their weapons with their uſual agility. The Romans, on the contrary, with their bucklers cloſe to the breaſt, and their hands covered with the hilt of their ſwords, found the large proportions of the enemy an eaſy mark. They gaſhed the Barbarians in the face, and drove them from their ranks. Arminius no longer fought with his uſual ardour. Ill ſucceſs, ſo often repeated, depreſſed his ſpirit; or perhaps the wound, which he had received in the late engagement, had exhauſted his ſtrength. Inguiomer, performing wonders, and buſy in every part of the field, was abandoned by his fortune, not by his courage. Germanicus threw off his helmet, that his perſon might be better diſtinguiſhed; and ruſhing among the ranks, exhorted his men to give

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no quarter. He cried aloud, "We have no need of priſoners: "extirpate the Barbarians; nothing leſs will end the war." The day being far advanced, he ordered one of the legions to quit the field, in order to prepare an encampment: the reſt had their meaſure of revenge, till the approach of night put an end to the effuſion of blood. In this battle the Roman cavalry fought with undecided ſucceſs.

XXII. GERMANICUS in a public harangue commended the valour of his army; and afterwards raiſed a pile of arms as a trophy of victory, with this ſplendid inſcription: "The army of "Tiberius Cæſar, having ſubdued the nations between the Rhine "and the Elbe, dedicates this monument to Mars, to Jupiter, "and Auguſtus." Of the commander in chief no mention was made. To ſoften envy, he aſſumed no part of the praiſe, content with deſerving it. Stertinius marched into the territory of the Angrivarians, with orders, if they did not ſubmit, to lay the country waſte. The Barbarians ſurrendered at diſcretion, and received a general pardon.

XXIII. THE ſummer being now far advanced, Germanicus ordered ſome of the legions to return by land to winter quarters; he himſelf ſailed with the reſt, down the river Amiſia, to the main ocean. The weather was favourable, and the ſea preſented a perfect calm, unruffled by any motion, except what was occaſioned by the daſhing of the oars, and the rapid motion of a thouſand veſſels under ſail. But this ſerenity did not laſt long: the ſky was overcaſt; a ſtorm of hail burſt down with ſudden fury *(a)*; ſqualls of wind drove the billows different ways, and the pilot could no longer ſee what courſe to ſteer. Unuſed to the tempeſtuous element, and terrified by the novelty of the danger, the ſoldiers added to the alarm. They interfered with the

the mariners; they endeavoured to lend a helping hand; but activity, without ſkill, ſerved only to embarraſs ſuch as knew their duty. The winds at laſt were collected to one point, and the ſtorm blew directly from the ſouth.

In that climate the ſouth wind is generally more tempeſtuous than in other ſeas. Sweeping over the bleak German mountains, it drives from the land a vaſt body of clouds, that form a ſcene of impending horror, which the vicinity of the northern regions renders ſtill more formidable. The ſhips were diſperſed: ſome were thrown upon unknown iſlands, ſurrounded with rocks, or upon banks of ſand that lay concealed beneath the waves. At the turn of the tide, the wind and the current, with united force, drove one way. To lie at anchor was impoſſible. The billows broke over the ſhips with ſuch violence, that all the pumps at work could not diſcharge the water. To lighten the veſſels was the only expedient left: and accordingly horſes, beaſts of burthen, arms, and baggage, were thrown overboard.

XXIV. THE ſtorms in other ſeas are inconſiderable, when compared to the fury of a northern tempeſt. The ocean in thoſe parts is more boiſterous than in any other of the known world, and the rigour of Germany ſurpaſſes that of any other climate. The danger of the fleet was, by conſequence, more alarming; the magnitude, as well as the novelty of the miſchief, exceeding any former voyage undertaken by the Romans. No friendly ſhore at hand; every coaſt in the poſſeſſion of ſavage enemies *(a)*; the ſea of a depth incredible; vaſt in circumference, and, according to the received opinion, without any nation towards the north, or any continent to fix its boundary. A number of ſhips went to the bottom; many were wrecked on diſtant iſlands, ſecluded from the commerce of man. The ſoldiers who were

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caſt on ſhore, periſhed by famine, or prolonged a wretched exiſtence by feeding on the carcaſſes of horſes thrown up by the ſea.

The veſſel in which Germanicus ſailed, was driven far from the fleet, to the coaſt *(b)* inhabited by the Chaucians. There the diſconſolate prince paſſed whole days and nights among pointed rocks, wandering on the prominent beach, his eyes fixed on the brawling deep, and his heart imputing to himſelf the whole calamity. It was with difficulty that his friends reſtrained him from burying himſelf in the ſame waves that ſwallowed up ſo many gallant ſoldiers. At length the ſtorm abated. The wind and the tide ſerving at once, ſome of the ſhips were ſeen making to the land, all in a ſhattered condition, few oars remaining, and the clothes of the men ſtretched out for ſails. The crippled veſſels were drawn in tow by ſuch as were leſs diſabled. Germanicus refitted the fleet with all poſſible expedition; and, as ſoon as might be, ordered ſome of the ſhips to coaſt along the iſlands, in ſearch of the ſoldiers who had been caſt away. By this diligence many were reſtored to their friends. The Angrivarians, lately reduced to ſubjection, returned a conſiderable number, whom they had ranſomed from their maritime neighbours. Some were thrown on the coaſt of Britain, and there releaſed by the petty princes of the country. According to the diſtance from which the men returned, the account of their perils was ſwelled with marvellous adventures; they talked of hurricanes, and birds unheard of before; of ſea-monſters, and ambiguous forms, partly man, and partly fiſh; things either ſeen, or elſe the coinage of imaginations crazed with fear.

XXV. THE news of theſe diſaſters ſpreading far and wide, the Germans began to think of renewing the war. Nor was Germanicus

manicus leſs active to counteract their deſigns. He diſpatched Caius Silius with thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, to make war on the Cattians; and in the mean time marched himſelf, at the head of a greater force, to invade the Marſians. Malovendus, the chief of that nation, had lately ſurrendered to the protection of Rome. From him intelligence was gained, that the eagle of one of the legions commanded by Varus, lay in a trench, covered with earth, in a neighbouring grove *(a)*, and the guard ſtationed there could make but a feeble reſiſtance. Two parties were ſent forward without delay; one to attack the enemy in front, and draw them from their poſt; the other to enter the wood in the rear, and recover the eagle. Succeſs attended both expeditions. Germanicus now reſolved to penetrate into the heart of the country; he carried deſtruction wherever he marched, the enemy in every quarter flying before him, or if any where they made a ſtand, either routed or put to the ſword. According to the account brought in by the priſoners, a more general panic was never known. All agreed that the Romans roſe ſuperior to adverſity; a race of men not to be ſubdued. Their fleet deſtroyed, their arms loſt in the deep, the coaſt of Germany covered with the dead bodies of men and horſes; and yet, ſaid the aſtoniſhed Germans, they return undiſmayed, and with their former ferocity renew the charge, as if calamity increaſed their numbers.

XXVI. THE Romans marched into winter quarters, proud of their exploits, and in their late ſucceſs loſing the memory of paſt misfortunes. The prince, with that munificence that graced his character, paid to each ſoldier the amount of his loſs. Meanwhile the Germans, weakened and diſheartened by the ill ſucceſs of ſo many efforts, began to think of pacific meaſures: nor was it doubted

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doubted but another ſummer, if they dared to take the field, would complete and end the war. But Tiberius wiſhed for nothing ſo much as the return of Germanicus. His letters were all to that effect. "It was time," he ſaid, "to viſit the capital, "and enjoy the honours of a triumph already decreed. Enough "had been performed. The proſperous events of war were "balanced by misfortunes. Important battles had been fought, "and victory had often attended the Roman arms: but the "winds and waves conſpired; and loſſes at ſea, not indeed im- "putable to the general, were heavy diſaſters. Tiberius added, "that he himſelf, under the auſpices of Auguſtus, had been ſent "nine times into Germany; but it was to prudent counſels, "more than to force of arms, that he owed all his ſucceſs. It "was by policy that the Sicambrians *(a)* were wrought to a ſub- "miſſion; it was by management that the Suevians were drawn "into an alliance with Rome; and it was the ſame conduct that "made Maroboduus *(b)* liſten to terms of peace. The honour "of the Roman name was now revived in all its ancient luſtre; "and it was therefore time to leave the Cheruſcans, and the hoſtile "ſtates of Germany, to their own diſſenſions."

Germanicus, notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, requeſted leave to continue in the command for one year more. Tiberius was not to be diverted from his purpoſe. He plied Germanicus with new arguments; and, as a lure to young ambition, threw out the offer of a ſecond conſulſhip, which required perſonal attendance at Rome. He urged, moreover, that if the war continued, ſome ſhare of merit ought to be left to Druſus, the brother of Germanicus, for whom no other field of glory could be found. It was in Germany only that Druſus could acquire the title of IMPERATOR. Rome had no other enemies. The laurel crown muſt be gained in that quarter of the world. Germanicus

ſaw through theſe pretences. The object, he knew, was to ſtop him in the full career of fame: with regret he reſigned the command, and returned to Rome.

XXVII. ABOUT this time, Libo Druſus, deſcended from the Scribonian family, was accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate. The hiſtory of this tranſaction in all its ſtages, its riſe, its progreſs, and its final iſſue, ſhall be here laid open. The detail will not be unintereſting; ſince we are now arrived at that black period, which engendered that race of men, who, for a ſeries of years, were the ſcourge and peſt of ſociety. Libo owed his ruin to his intimacy with Firmius Catus, a member of the ſenate. Catus ſaw in his friend, beſides the impetuoſity of youth, a caſt of mind ſuſceptible of vain illuſions and ſuperſtitious credulity. He ſaw that the judicial aſtrology of the Chaldæans, the myſteries of the Magi, and the interpreters of dreams, would be ſure to make their impreſſion on a wild and diſtempered imagination. In ſuch a mind the flame of ambition might be eaſily kindled. With that intent, he urged the dignity of Libo's anceſtors: Pompey was his great grandfather; Scribonia *(a)*, once the wife of Auguſtus, was his aunt; the two young Cæſars *(b)* were his relations; and his houſe was crowded with images, that diſplayed an illuſtrious line of anceſtors. Having thus inflamed his pride, he contrived to engage the young man in a courſe of luxury, and, by conſequence, to involve him *(c)* in a load of debt. He watched him cloſely in the hour of wild profuſion, and in the ſcenes of diſtreſs that followed; affecting with tender regard to be his conſtant companion, yet lying in wait for evidence; and playing the part of a friend, to be at laſt a pernicious enemy.

XXVIII. HAVING procured a competent number of witneſſes, and among them ſuch of the ſlaves as knew their maſter's courſe of

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of life, Catus demanded an audience of the emperor. By the means of Flaccus Veſcularius *(a)*, a Roman knight, much in the confidence of Tiberius, he had beforehand diſcloſed the nature of his buſineſs. The emperor refuſed to grant an interview, and yet encouraged the informer, willing through the ſame channel to receive further intelligence. Libo in the mean time was raiſed to the dignity of prætor. He was a frequent gueſt at the imperial table. In thoſe convivial moments, Tiberius never betrayed a ſymptom of ſuſpicion. With gentle expreſſions, and looks of kindneſs, that maſter of diſſimulation knew how to hide the malice of his heart. The follies of Libo's conduct might have been checked in the beginning; but Tiberius choſe to collect materials for a future day. It happened at laſt that one Junius, who pretended to raiſe the dead by magic incantations, was appointed, at the requeſt of Libo, to exhibit the wonders of his art. This man haſtened with the ſecret to Fulcinius Trio, at that time a noted informer, who poſſeſſed dangerous talents, and by any arts, however pernicious, wiſhed to raiſe himſelf into public notice. Libo was cited to appear. Trio applied to the conſuls for a ſolemn hearing before the ſenate. The fathers were convened to deliberate, as the ſummons informed them, on matters of moment, and a charge of the blackeſt nature.

XXIX. LIBO changed his dreſs *(a)*. In a mourning garb he went from houſe to houſe, attended by a female train of the firſt diſtinction. He importuned his friends, and among them hoped to find ſome one willing to undertake his defence. His application was without effect. His friends deſerted him, with different excuſes; but all from the common motive of fear. On the day of trial, ſinking under his diſtreſs, and faint with real or pretended illneſs, he was carried in a litter to the ſenate-houſe. He entered the court *(b)*, ſupported by his brother. At the ſight of the

emperor, he ſtretched forth his hands in the manner of a ſuppliant, and in a pathetic tone endeavoured to conciliate favour. Tiberius viewed him with a rigid and inflexible countenance. He then proceeded to open the charge, ſtating the particulars, and the names of the accuſers; but in a ſtyle of moderation, neither aggravating nor extenuating the offence.

XXX. FONTEIUS AGRIPPA and Caius Vibius, two new accuſers, joined in ſupport of the proſecution. Being now four in number, they could not agree among themſelves which ſhould take the lead. The point was conteſted with much warmth. Vibius at length obſerved, that Libo came to the trial without an advocate to ſupport him; and therefore, to end the diſpute with his aſſociates, he undertook to detail in a plain and ſimple manner the heads of the charge. Nothing could be more wild and extravagant than ſome of the articles. He ſtated that Libo had made it a queſtion to the fortune-tellers, whether he ſhould ever be rich enough to cover with money the Appian road, as far as Brunduſium. There were other allegations of the ſame ſtamp, equally void of common ſenſe; or, to ſpeak more truly, ſo weak and frivolous, that they could move no paſſion but pity.

There was however one fact of a ſerious nature. A paper was produced, containing a liſt of the Cæſars, and alſo ſeveral ſenators, with remarks, or notes, which no man could decypher, annexed to their names. This was exhibited as the hand-writing of Libo. He inſiſted on his innocence. It was propoſed to put his ſlaves to the torture. Their evidence, by the eſtabliſhed rules of law, was inadmiſſible. By an ancient decree of the ſenate, it was ordained, that, where the maſter's life was in danger, no ſlave ſhould undergo the queſtion. Tiberius, by a maſter-ſtroke of invention *(a)*, found an expedient to evade the

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law. He directed a ſale of the ſlaves to be made to the public officer, that, the property being altered, they might then be examined on a new principle, unknown to former times. Libo prayed an adjournment to the next day. Being returned to his own houſe, he ſent by his relation, Publius Quirinius, an humble petition to the emperor: the anſwer was, "he muſt addreſs the "ſenate."

XXXI. A PARTY of ſoldiers ſurrounded Libo's houſe, and, with the brutal rudeneſs of men inſolent in authority, forced their way into the veſtibule, determined to make themſelves heard and ſeen by the family. The priſoner was then at table, intending to make an elegant banquet the laſt pleaſure of his life: but a mind in agony could reliſh nothing. Diſtracted, terrified, he called on his ſervants to diſpatch him; he laid hold of his ſlaves, and endeavoured to force a ſword into their hands. The ſervants, in agitation, made an effort to eſcape, and, in the ſtruggle, overturned the light that ſtood upon the table. This to Libo was funereal darkneſs: he ſeized the moment, and gave himſelf two mortal ſtabs *(a)*. His groans alarmed the freedmen, who crowded round their maſter. The ſoldiers followed; and ſeeing him at the point of death, had the decency to withdraw. The proſecution, however, did not die with the unfortunate victim. It was reſumed in the ſenate with unabating ſeverity. Tiberius made an end of the buſineſs, by declaring that, if the criminal had not done juſtice on himſelf, he intended, notwithſtanding the manifeſt proof of his guilt, to have recommended him to the mercy of the fathers.

XXXII. THE eſtate of the deceaſed was divided among the informers. Such of them as were of ſenatorian rank, were promoted to the prætorſhip, without the form of an election. Various

rious motions were made in the ſenate: Cotta Meſſalinus *(a)* propoſed that the image of Libo ſhould not be carried in the funeral proceſſions of his kindred; Cneius Lentulus, that the ſurname of Druſus ſhould be no longer aſſumed by the Scribonian family. On the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of public thankſgiving were voted; and gifts were ordered to be preſented to Jupiter, Mars, and Concord, at the deſire of Lucius Puppius, Aſinius Gallus, Papius Mutilus, and Lucius Apronius. It was further decreed, that the ides of September, the day on which Libo diſpatched himſelf, ſhould be obſerved as a feſtival. Of theſe reſolutions, and their ſeveral authors, I have thought proper to record the memory, that adulation may be branded to all poſterity, and that men may mark how long a ſervile ſpirit has been the canker of the commonwealth.

The tribe of aſtrologers and magicians *(b)*, by a decree of the ſenate, was baniſhed out of Italy. Two of the number ſuffered death; namely Lucius Pituanius, and Publius Marcius. The former was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and the latter, by order of the conſuls, was executed, at the ſound of a trumpet, on the outſide of the Eſquiline gate *(c)*, according to the form preſcribed by ancient uſage.

XXXIII. At the next meeting of the ſenate, the luxury of the times became the ſubject of debate. The buſineſs was introduced by Quintus Haterius, of conſular rank, and Octavius Fronto, who had diſcharged the office of prætor. A law was paſſed, prohibiting the uſe of ſolid gold for the ſervice of the table; and further enacting, that men ſhould not *(a)* diſgrace themſelves by the effeminate delicacy of ſilk apparel. Fronto took a wider compaſs. He propoſed that the quantity of ſilver in every family, the expence of furniture, and the number of

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domeſtics, ſhould be limited by law. The ſenators at that time did not confine themſelves to the queſtion depending before the aſſembly; but every ſpeaker was at liberty to ſtart new matter, and ſubmit to conſideration whatever he thought conducive to the public good.

Aſinius Gallus roſe in oppoſition to the opinion of Octavius Fronto. "The commonwealth," he ſaid, "had increaſed in "grandeur, and the wealth of individuals grew with the growth "of empire. Nor was this a modern innovation: the ſame effect, "from the ſame cauſes, may be traced in the early period of the "commonwealth. The Fabricii had their private wealth, and ſo "had the Scipios, but different in degree. Wealth is relative, "always in proportion to the affluence of the times. When the "ſtate was poor, frugality was the virtue of a citizen. Does the "empire flouriſh? Individuals flouriſh with it. In matters of "domeſtic expence, ſuch as plate and retinue, the meaſure of "œconomy or extravagance muſt be determined by the circum-"ſtances of the family. Nothing is mean, nothing ſuperfluous, "but what is made ſo by the condition of the parties. The for-"tune of a ſenator *(b)*, as ſettled by law, differs from the quali-"fication of a Roman knight. Has nature made a diſtinction "between them? No, it is civil policy that draws the line; and "ſurely it is fit that they, who ſtand high in rank, in honours, "and public ſtation, ſhould live in ſuitable ſplendor, not only "furniſhed with the neceſſaries, but alſo with the elegancies, of "life. High ſtation is at beſt a poſt of danger. Will any one "argue, that men in office are to drudge in buſineſs, condemned "to endleſs toil, without the means of repairing the waſte of "labour, and without a comfort to ſooth anxiety?" The apo-logiſt of diſſipation and luxury carried his point. With an audi-ence of congenial manners, public vices, decorated with ſpecious names,

names, were public virtues. Tiberius closed the debate. The times, he said, were not ripe for a censor *(c)*; but if corruption went on increasing, there would be no want of vigour to reform abuses of every kind. BOOK II. A. U. C. 769. A. D. 16.

XXXIV. In the course of these debates, Lucius Piso broke out with vehemence against the reigning vices of the times, the spirit of intrigue that prevailed in the forum, the venality of the courts of justice, and the band of public informers, who were ever armed with accusations, and spread terror through all ranks and degrees of men. For his part, he abjured the city of Rome. In some remote corner of the world, he was determined to seek an obscure but safe retreat from the villany of abandoned men. He spoke, and left the senate-house. Tiberius heard him, but not without inward mortification. He endeavoured by every means in his power to appease his indignation; and exerted all his interest with Piso's relations, in order to dissuade him from his purpose. In a short time after, the same eminent person gave another proof of his firmness. He had commenced a suit against Urgulania, a woman raised above the controul of law by the friendship of Livia. Disdaining to answer the process, this haughty favourite took shelter in the imperial palace. Piso persisted in his demand, undismayed by the resentment of Livia, who considered his obstinacy as an affront to herself. Tiberius thought fit to temporize with the passions of his mother. He promised to attend the hearing of the cause, in favour of Urgulania; and that mark of filial compliance he thought would not be considered as a stretch of power *(d)*.

He set out accordingly from the palace, his guards following at a distance. He proceeded slowly through the streets, amidst a concourse of people, with an air of calm composure, occasionally

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ſionally loitering in converſation. Piſo's friends tried all in their power to make him deſiſt from his ſuit; but nothing could ſhake that reſolute temper. To end the controverſy, Livia thought good to pay the whole of his demand. Piſo by his firmneſs did honour to his character, and Tiberius gained the popular applauſe. Urgulania continued, notwithſtanding, to tower above the condition of a citizen; inſomuch that, being ſummoned as a witneſs in a matter depending before the ſenate, her pride would not ſuffer her to appear. A prætor was ſent to take her examination in private; though, by ancient uſage, the attendance of the veſtal virgins, whenever cited to give their teſtimony, was never diſpenſed with, either in the forum or the tribunals of juſtice.

XXXV. PART of this year was remarkable for a total ſuſpenſion of all public buſineſs. Of this inactive ſtate it would be ſcarce worth while to take notice, if the different ſentiments of *(a)* Cneius Piſo and Aſinius Gallus did not ſeem to merit attention. Tiberius gave notice, that he intended to abſent himſelf for ſome time from Rome. Piſo declared his opinion, that, in ſuch a juncture, the ſenate ought to attend with greater aſſiduity to the diſpatch of buſineſs. The fathers and the Roman knights might ſtill diſcharge their reſpective functions; "the dignity of the "commonwealth required it." Aſinius Gallus ſaw, with a jealous eye, that his rival had taken the popular ſide; and, to counteract his deſign, roſe to oppoſe the motion. "Nothing," he ſaid, "could be truly great, or worthy of the Roman people, unleſs "conducted under the eye of the prince. The affairs of ſtate, "and the great conflux of people, not only from all parts of Italy "but from the provinces, ought to be reſerved for the preſence of "the emperor." Tiberius heard all that paſſed, but remained ſilent. A warm debate enſued. At length the fathers agreed to adjourn all buſineſs till the prince returned to Rome.

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XXXVI. UPON another occaſion the ſame Aſinius Gallus had the ſpirit to claſh even with the emperor. He moved, in form, that the election of civil magiſtrates ſhould take place at the end of five years; that the officers who had the command of a legion, and diſcharged that duty before they attained the prætorſhip, ſhould be declared prætors elect, without prejudice to the right of the ſovereign to name twelve candidates. This motion, beyond all doubt, had a deeper aim, pointing directly at the policy of the times, and the ſecret maxims of the court *(a)*. Tiberius affected to ſee a deſign to enlarge the ſovereign authority; and, on that ground, replied, "that it was inconſiſtent with his moderation to "take upon him ſo vaſt a charge. The power to chooſe, was a "power to exclude; and the laſt was painful. The elections, "even when annual, were attended with many inconveniencies. "The diſappointed candidate was ſure to repine at his want of "ſucceſs, and yet his diſgrace was but of ſhort duration: he con-"ſoled himſelf with hopes of better ſucceſs in the following year. "Defer the election for five years, and the man rejected for that "length of time will find his ſpirit more deeply wounded. "Moreover, at the end of ſo long a period, who can anſwer that "his character, his family connections, and his fortune, will be "the ſame? To grow proud in office is the nature of man: ex-"tend his authority to the ſpace of five years, and what will be "the conſequence? Every ſingle magiſtrate will ſwell with the "pride of five. The laws, which have wiſely drawn the "line, will be ſubverted; whereas, at preſent, the time for "ſoliciting, as well as that of enjoying public honours, is fixed "with preciſion."

XXXVII. BY theſe ſpecious arguments, delivered with a republican ſpirit, Tiberius ſtrengthened the intereſts of deſpotiſm. His next meaſure was a grant of money to certain ſenators, whoſe fortunes

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fortunes were inferior to their rank. Nothing, however, in the midſt of ſuch liberal donations, ſtruck the minds of men with ſo much wonder, as the high tone with which he rejected the application of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of diſtinction, but embarraſſed in his circumſtances. He was grandſon to *(a)* Hortenſius, the celebrated orator. To prevent the extinction of that illuſtrious family, Auguſtus preſſed him to marry, and ſeconded his advice by a preſent of a thouſand great ſeſterces. The ſenate was ſitting in the emperor's palace. Hortalus attended. Having ſtationed his four children before the door, he roſe in his place, directing his eyes, firſt to the ſtatue of Hortenſius, among the famous orators, then to the ſtatue of Auguſtus, and ſpoke to the following effect: "My children, conſcript fathers, are now before "you: you ſee their number, and their helpleſs infancy. They "were not mine by choice: the command of Auguſtus made me "a father. Let me add, the merit of my anceſtors ſtood in ſo "diſtinguiſhed a light, that the line ought not to fail for want of "iſſue. As to myſelf, the diſtraction of the times left me nothing "but difficulties: involved in diſtreſs, deſtitute, without popular "favour, and, above all, not endowed with eloquence, that pecu-"liar gift and fortune of my family, I could have paſſed my days "in humble content, reſolved that poverty ſhould neither make "me a diſgrace to my anceſtors, nor a burthen to my friends. "The advice of Auguſtus was a command: I obeyed, and married. "Behold the iſſue of that alliance, the poſterity of conſuls and "dictators. It is not the language of vain glory that I utter; it "is the voice of a father pleading for his children. Receive them, "Cæſar, to your protection: under your auſpicious ſmiles they "may live to deſerve your favour, and to merit public honours. "In the mean time, let their tender years claim compaſſion: they "are the grandchildren of Hortenſius, and they were foſtered "by Auguſtus."

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XXXVIII. THIS ſpeech made an impreſſion in his favour: but the inclination of the ſenate was ſufficient to ſour a temper like that of Tiberius. He replied to Hortalus nearly in the following words: "If the trade of begging is to be encouraged; if "the poor are to come hither in crowds to ſolicit for their children; "the public funds may be exhauſted, and the craving of indivi- "duals will remain unſatisfied. To depart from the queſtion "before the ſenate, and open new matter for the public ſervice, "was no doubt the practice of our anceſtors; but, under that "ſanction, to introduce domeſtic concerns, with a view to pri- "vate intereſt, is an abuſe of the privilege, tending directly to "reduce the ſenate, as well as the ſovereign, to a painful dilemma. "Whether we comply, or refuſe our conſent, either way we "encounter prejudice. Beſides, this mode of petitioning is not "a modeſt humble requeſt; it is a demand, brought on by "ſurpriſe, while other buſineſs is before us. At ſuch a time the "petitioner comes, and with the age and number of his children "aſſails the paſſions of this aſſembly: he does more; he makes a "ſudden tranſition to ourſelf, and by violence of prayer hopes to "ſtorm the treaſury. But let us remember that, if by our profu- "ſion we exhauſt the public ſtock, our crimes muſt replace it. "You are not, Hortalus, now to learn, that the bounty of Au- "guſtus was his own voluntary act: he gave you money, but "never intended that you ſhould live a rent-charge upon the pub- "lic. By falſe compaſſion we injure the community; induſtry "will go to ruin; ſloth will predominate, men will no longer "depend upon themſelves; but, having from their own conduct "nothing to hope or fear, they will look to their neighbours for "ſupport: they will firſt abandon their duty, and then be a bur- "then on the public."

Such were the reaſonings of Tiberius. His ſpeech was well

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received by that claſs of men, who are ever ready to applaud the vices, no leſs than the virtues, of their maſter: others heard in ſilence, or at moſt with a murmur of diſapprobation. Tiberius ſaw the impreſſion on the minds of the fathers: he pauſed, and added, that what he had ſaid was a reply to Hortalus; but, if the ſenate judged it proper, he was willing to give two hundred great ſeſterces to each of his ſons. The fathers expreſſed their thanks; Hortalus made no anſwer, perhaps through fear, or probably retaining ſtill the ſpirit of his anceſtors, unbroken by diſtreſs. From this time Tiberius never relented. While the houſe of Hortenſius ſunk into diſtreſs and poverty, he looked on with unconcern, and ſaw that illuſtrious family moulder into ruin.

XXXIX. In the courſe of this year, the daring genius of a ſingle ſlave well nigh involved the empire in a civil war. The name of this man was Clemens, formerly retained in the ſervice of Poſthumus Agrippa. He was no ſooner appriſed of the death of Auguſtus, than he conceived the bold deſign of paſſing over to the iſle of Planaſia, with intent, by force or ſtratagem, to carry off Agrippa, and convey him to the German army. This enterpriſe, conceived by a ſlave, was no indication of a groveling mind. He embarked on board a trading veſſel, deeply laden, and after a tedious paſſage arrived too late: Agrippa was previouſly murdered. The man was now reſolved to act a nobler part. Taking with him the aſhes of the prince, he ſailed to Coſa, a promontory of Etruria, and there remained concealed in the ſequeſtered parts of the country, till his hair and beard were grown into length. He was of his maſter's age, and in form and ſtature not unlike him. He began by his friends and agents to circulate a whiſper, that Agrippa was ſtill living. The ſtory, as is uſual in the beginning of plots, was helped about by clandeſtine arts. By degrees the tools of this bold adventurer grew more hardy; the weak and

ignorant believed every thing; and the bold and turbulent, who wiſh for nothing ſo much as convulſions in the ſtate, received the news with joy and exultation. While the report was gaining ground, the author of it withdrew with caution from the public eye. Truth, he was aware, is always brought to light by time and reflection; while the lye of the day lives by buſtle, noiſe, and precipitation. The impoſtor was therefore reſolved to keep the minds of men in a conſtant ferment: he viſited the municipal towns, but always in the duſk of the evening; he went to one place, he flew to another, continually in motion, never long any where; but, as ſoon as he made his impreſſion, leaving his fame behind him, or flying before it, to prepoſſeſs the people in ſome new quarter.

XL. THE miraculous eſcape of Agrippa was currently reported all over Italy. At Rome the ſtory was believed. The impoſtor landed at Oſtia, amidſt the acclamations of the rabble. Clandeſtine meetings were held in the capital. Tiberius was thrown into the utmoſt perplexity. Should he call forth the ſoldiers to ſubdue a ſlave? Were it not more adviſeable to leave the rumour to its own futility? On a ſudden he was bent on vigorous meaſures, and nothing was to be ſlighted: he wavered, fluctuated, and to act with coolneſs ſeemed more adviſeable; to be alarmed at trifles was unworthy of the prince. The reſolution of one moment gave way to the whim of the next, and pride and fear alternately diſtracted him. He reſolved, and decided nothing. Weary of himſelf, he left the whole to Salluſtius Criſpus. That miniſter ſent two of his creatures (ſome ſay, two ſoldiers) to join the fictitious Agrippa, as men devoted to his cauſe: he gave them full inſtructions to ſupply him with money, and profeſs themſelves ready in his ſervice, to encounter every danger. The men acted their parts; and, in the dead of night, ſeizing their opportunity,

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fell with a ſtrong party upon the adventurer. Having ſeized his perſon, they dragged him in fetters, with a gag in his mouth, to the imperial palace. Being there interrogated by Tiberius "how "he came to be Agrippa," he is ſaid to have anſwered, "as you "came to be Cæſar." With undaunted reſolution he refuſed to diſcover his accomplices. Tiberius, not chooſing to hazard a public execution, ordered him to be put to death in a ſequeſtered part of the palace. The body was privately conveyed away; and though at the time there was reaſon to believe that many of the emperor's houſehold, and even ſeveral of the Roman knights and ſenators, aſſiſted the impoſtor with their advice and money, the affair was dropt without further enquiry.

XLI. TOWARDS the end of the year, a triumphal arch was erected, near the Temple of Saturn *(a)*, in memory of the Varian eagles retaken under the conduct of Germanicus, and the auſpices of Tiberius. Several other public monuments were dedicated at the ſame time; a temple to Fortune, in the gardens on the banks of the Tiber, which Julius Cæſar had bequeathed to the Roman people; a chapel ſacred to the Julian family; and a ſtatue of Auguſtus in the ſuburbs, called *Bovillæ (b)*.

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In the conſulſhip of Caius Cæcilius and Lucius Pomponius, Germanicus, on the ſeventh before the calends of June, enjoyed the glory of a triumph over the Cheruſcans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the reſt of the nations extending as far as the Elbe. The ſpoils of the conquered, the priſoners of war, with various pictures of battles, mountains, and rivers, were diſplayed with great pomp and ſplendor. The war, though the general was not ſuffered to reap the full harveſt of his glory, was conſidered by the populace as entirely finiſhed. Amidſt the grandeur of this magnificent ſpectacle, nothing appeared ſo ſtriking as the graceful

perſon of Germanicus, with his five children *(c)*, mounted on the triumphal car. The joy of the multitude was not, however, without a tincture of melancholy. Men remembered that Druſus, the father of Germanicus, was the darling of the people, and yet proved unfortunate; they called to mind young Marcellus *(d)*, bleſſed with all his country's wiſhes, yet prematurely ſnatched away. It happened, they ſaid, by ſome fatality, that whenever a favoured character was the delight of the Roman people, their affections ended always in a general mourning.

XLII. TIBERIUS gave a largeſs to the populace of three hundred ſeſterces *(a)* to each man, and ordered the diſtribution to be made in the name of Germanicus, at the ſame time declaring himſelf his colleague in the conſulſhip for the enſuing year. Theſe marks of good will were ſpecious, but by no man thought ſincere. He was now reſolved to remove the favourite of the people. This, however, was be done under colour of new honours. He framed a pretence, or took advantage of that which the poſture of affairs preſented to him. Archelaus *(b)*, during a ſpace of fifty years, had ſwayed the ſceptre of Cappadocia; but had the misfortune of being upon bad terms with the emperor, who, during his reſidence in the Iſle of Rhodes, had taken umbrage at the king's behaviour, and from that moment harboured the deepeſt reſentment. Archelaus, it is true, had ſhewn him no mark of reſpect; but that inattention did not originate in pride or arrogance. It was the conduct recommended by the confidential friends of Auguſtus, at a time, when Caius Cæſar, flouriſhing in favour, was ſent to arrange the affairs of the eaſt. In that juncture, to court the friendſhip of Tiberius would have been highly impolitic.

After the failure of the Cæſarian line, and the elevation of Tiberius, letters to the eaſtern prince were diſpatched from the emperor's

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emperor's mother, avowing her ſon's reſentment, but offering an entire remiſſion of paſt offences, provided he came in perſon to ſolicit his pardon. Archelaus did not perceive the intended treachery; or, perceiving it, thought it prudent to diſſemble. He riſqued a journey to Rome.

Tiberius received him with pride and ſullen averſion. The king of Cappadocia was arraigned before the ſenate *(c)*; and though the charge was without foundation, a royal mind, not uſed to acknowledge an equal, much leſs to bend to the humiliating condition of a ſtate-criminal, was naturally pierced to the quick. Worn out with grief, and drooping under the infirmities of age, the unhappy monarch died of a broken heart, or perhaps fell by his own hand. His kingdom was reduced to a Roman province. With this new ſource of wealth, Tiberius declared himſelf able to diminiſh the tax of the hundredth penny, and accordingly changed it to the two hundredth. About this time died Antiochus and Philopater; the former king of Commagena *(d)*, and the latter of Cilicia. By their deaths their kingdoms were thrown into violent convulſions. Two factions were at variance: one, which formed a large majority, was willing to ſubmit to the government of Rome; the other contended for the independence of their monarchy. In the ſame juncture the provinces of Syria and Judæa prayed to be relieved from the burthen of oppreſſive taxes.

XLIII. THIS ſtate of affairs, and the commotions in Armenia, which have been already mentioned, Tiberius laid before the ſenate. His concluſion was, that to ſettle the troubles of the eaſt, recourſe muſt be had to the wiſdom of Germanicus. As to himſelf, he was now in the vale of years, and Druſus had neither maturity of age nor experience. The provinces beyond the

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the Mediterranean *(a)* were, by a decree of the ſenate, committed to Germanicus. He was made commander in chief, with ſupreme authority, wherever he went, over all other governors, whether appointed by lot, or the will of the prince. At that time Creticus Silanus was the governor of Syria. He had promiſed his daughter in marriage to Nero, the eldeſt ſon of Germanicus. For that reaſon Tiberius recalled him from the province, and in his place appointed Cneius Piſo *(b)*, a man of violent paſſions, impatient of controul, and fierce with all the ſpirit of his father, that famous republican, who in the civil wars took up arms againſt Julius Cæſar, and rekindled the flame in Africa. After that exploit he followed the fortunes of Brutus and Caſſius. Being at length reſtored to his country, he diſdained all public offices, till Auguſtus prevailed upon him to accept of the conſulſhip. To the pride derived from ſuch a father, the ſon united the inſolence of wealth acquired by his marriage with Plancina *(c)*, who, beſides her high deſcent, poſſeſſed immoderate riches. Proud of that connection, Piſo thought himſelf ſcarcely ſecond to Tiberius. The emperor's ſons were beneath his rank. The government of Syria, he made no doubt, was given to him, as a bar to the hopes of Germanicus. For this purpoſe ſecret inſtructions were at the time ſaid to have been given to him by Tiberius. Plancina, it is certain, had her leſſon from Livia, with full inſtructions to mortify the pride of Agrippina with all the arts of female emulation.

The court of Tiberius, divided between Druſus and Germanicus, was a ſcene of domeſtic faction. The emperor, as was natural, gave the preference to his own immediate iſſue; but the preference had no other effect than that of attaching the friends of Germanicus more warmly to his intereſt. They conſidered him, by the maternal line, of higher birth than Druſus *(d)*;

Marc

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Marc Anthony was his grandfather, and Auguſtus Cæſar his great uncle. On the other hand, Pomponius Atticus *(e)*, the great grandfather of Druſus, having never riſen above the rank of a Roman knight, ſeemed to tarniſh the luſtre of the Claudian line. The merit of Agrippina weighed greatly in the ſcale. She had brought to Germanicus a numerous offſpring; and her character, free from blemiſh, placed her in a point of view ſuperior to the younger Livia *(f)*, the wife of Druſus. The two brothers, amidſt the heat of contending parties, lived in perfect harmony: their friends were at variance, but the princes loved each other.

XLIV. DRUSUS was ſoon after ſent to command the army in Illyricum. In that ſchool of military ſcience he might improve in the art of war, and gain the affections of the army. The camp, Tiberius thought, would wean a young man from the diſſolute manners of the capital. He had ſtill another motive: while his two ſons were at the head of the legions, he might live in ſecurity, free from danger, and every poſſible alarm. But the oſtenſible reaſon for the expedition of Druſus, was an application from the Suevians *(a)*, praying the aſſiſtance of Rome againſt the Cheruſcans, who had turned their diſappointed rage againſt their countrymen. The fact was, Germany being at that time evacuated by the Romans, the different nations of that country, no longer dreading a foreign invaſion, began, according to the genius of Barbarians, to quarrel among themſelves. The preſent difference was a ſtruggle for power between two rival ſtates. The ſtrength on each ſide was nearly equal; the abilities of the chiefs much upon a balance: but the name of King was deteſted by the Suevians, and, by conſequence, Maroboduus was unpopular. On the oppoſite ſide, Arminius, the champion of liberty, was the idol of his country.

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XLV. ARMINIUS took the field at the head of a conſiderable army. The Cheruſcans, and a large body of allies, accuſtomed to fight under him, followed his ſtandard. To theſe were added the Semnones and the Langobards *(a)*, two Suevian nations revolted from Maroboduus. By this defection the ſuperiority had been decidedly with Arminius, had not Inguiomer thrown his whole weight into the oppoſite ſcale. For this conduct the pride of the man was the exciting motive. Arminius was the ſon of Inguiomer's brother; and the uncle, now a veteran ſoldier, diſdained to ſerve under his nephew, and obey the orders of a boy. The two armies were drawn up in order of battle; on both ſides equal ardour, and equal hopes of victory. The Germans no longer carried on a deſultory war, in detached parties, and irregular bodies: their long conflict with the Romans had made them ſoldiers. Diſcipline was introduced; they followed the colours; they ſupported the broken ranks, and with prompt alacrity obeyed the word of command. Arminius appeared on horſeback, ruſhing through the ranks, and animating his men to deeds of valour. He congratulated them on the recovery of their liberty; he gloried in the ſlaughter of Varus and his legions; he pointed to the ſpoils of victory, and the Roman weapons then in the hands of numbers; he called Maroboduus a coward and a fugitive, who never fleſhed his ſword in battle, but fled for ſhelter to the Hercynian foreſt *(b)*, where, by negociation, by bribes and embaſſies, he patched up an ignominious peace. A traitor to his country, and the ſlave of Cæſar, he was more an object of vengeance than Varus and his legions. He conjured them to remember the battles they had fought, and the glorious iſſue of all their labours. "The Romans," he ſaid, "have abandoned Germany; they are exterminated; and if men deſire to know who were the conquerors, the event of the war will tell."

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XLVI. MAROBODUUS, in the mean time, was not inactive. Of himſelf he talked in magnificent terms, and of the enemy with contempt and indignation. Holding Inguiomer by the hand, "Behold," he ſaid, "in this brave warrior the ſupport "and glory of the Cheruſcan name! To him they are indebted "for the ſucceſs of their arms. Arminius had no ſhare in the "conduct of the war; a raſh preſumptuous man, without know-"ledge or experience; he tears the laurel from another's brow, "and founds his merit on fraud and murder: he fell by ſur-"priſe upon three legions, and put an unſuſpecting general, "with his whole army, to the ſword. All Germany has had "reaſon to rue the carnage of that day; nor has Arminius any "thing to boaſt. His wife and his ſon are languiſhing in "Roman chains. Has my conduct produced ſo dreadful a ca-"taſtrophe? Tiberius, at the head of twelve legions *(a)*, ad-"vanced againſt me; but the glory of the German name "ſuffered no diminution. The peace which followed was made "on equal terms. For that treaty I have no reaſon to bluſh. "Hoſtilities were ſuſpended, and you gained time to deliberate "which was moſt adviſable, war with Rome, or a ſafe and "honourable peace."

The two armies were in this manner animated by their reſpective chiefs. The ſeveral nations added their own private motives. The Cheruſcans took the field to maintain their ancient glory, and the Langobards to defend their liberty recently recovered. The Suevians aimed at an extenſion of territory. No battle was ever fought with more inflamed reſentment, and none with ſuch equivocal ſucceſs. The right wing on both ſides was put to flight. A deciſive action was expected; when Maroboduus drew off his forces, and encamped on the neighbouring hills; acknowledging, by his retreat, the ſuperior ſtrength

of

of the enemy. Deſertion in a little time thinned his army. He retired into the country of the Marcomanians *(b)*, and thence ſent a deputation to Tiberius, in hopes of obtaining ſuccours. The emperor's anſwer was, that Maroboduus, in the late war with the Cheruſcans, had given the Romans no aſſiſtance; there was therefore no pretence for the preſent application. Druſus, notwithſtanding, was diſpatched, in the manner already mentioned, to ſecure the frontiers from the incurſions of the enemy, and to maintain the tranquillity of the empire.

XLVII. In the courſe of this year twelve principal cities in Aſia were deſtroyed by an earthquake. The calamity happened in the night, and was for that reaſon the more diſaſtrous; no warning given, and by conſequence no time to eſcape. The open fields, in ſuch dreadful convulſions, are the uſual refuge; but the earth opening in various places, all who attempted to fly were buried in the yawning caverns. Hills are ſaid to have ſunk, and valleys roſe to mountains. Quick flaſhes of lightning ſhewed all the horrors of the ſcene. The city of Sardes *(a)* ſuffered moſt, and was relieved in proportion to the diſtreſs of the inhabitants. Beſides a remiſſion for five years of all taxes, whether due to the public treaſury, or the coffers of the prince, Tiberius promiſed a ſupply of one hundred thouſand great ſeſterces. The city of Magneſia, ſituated near mount Sipylus, ſuffered in the next degree, and was conſidered accordingly. The inhabitants of Temnos, Philadelphia, Egæa, and Apollonia, with the cities of Hierocæſarea, Myrina, Cymè, Tmolus, as alſo the Moſthenians, and the people called the Macedonians of Hyrcania, were, for the like term of five years, exempted from all manner of impoſts. The ſenate reſolved to ſend a perſon of their own order to make an eſtimate of the miſchief, and grant ſuitable relief. The affairs of Aſia were at that time adminiſtered

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niſtered by a man of conſular dignity. To avoid the jealouſy incident to officers of equal rank, Marcus Aletus, who had riſen no higher than the office of prætor, was the perſon commiſſioned to ſuperintend the buſineſs.

XLVIII. BESIDES theſe acts of public munificence, Tiberius ſhewed, in matters of a private nature, a ſpirit of liberality that did him the higheſt honour. The eſtate of Æmilia Muſa *(a)*, who was poſſeſſed of a large fortune, and died inteſtate, leaving no lawful heir, was claimed to the prince's uſe by the officers of the imperial exchequer. Tiberius renounced his right in favour of Æmilius Lepidus, who ſeemed to ſtand in ſome degree of relation to the deceaſed. He gave up, in like manner, the rich poſſeſſions of Patuleius, a Roman knight; and, though a conſiderable legacy was left to himſelf, he reſigned the whole to Marcus Servilius, upon the ground of a former will, duly atteſted, in which Servilius was conſtituted ſole heir. For this diſintereſted conduct the reaſon aſſigned was, that the dignity of two ſuch illuſtrious citizens deſerved to be ſupported. In general, it was a rule with Tiberius, in all caſes where he had no previous title from connection or friendſhip, not to accept any property as teſtamentary heir. When humour, caprice, or paſſion induced a ſtranger to diſinherit his kindred, and make a diſpoſition in favour of the prince, he declared it an inofficious teſtament. To honeſt and virtuous poverty he often ſhewed himſelf a friend: to prodigality he was an inflexible enemy. In the claſs of ſpendthrifts he conſidered Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius. Theſe men, undone by their own extravagance, were either expelled the ſenate, or allowed to vacate their ſeats.

XLIX. THE plan undertaken by Auguſtus for the building of temples

temples in the room of ſuch as had been injured by time, or damaged by fire, was now completed. Tiberius dedicated the various ſtructures to their reſpective deities; one near the Great Circus to Bacchus, Proſerpine, and Ceres, originally raiſed in conſequence of a vow made by Aulus Poſthumius the dictator *(a)*; a temple to Flora, near the ſame place, formerly dedicated by Lucius and Marcus Publicius, during their ædileſhip; another to Janus, in the herb-market, founded by Caius Duillius *(b)*, the firſt who by a naval victory added luſtre to the Roman name, and triumphed over the Carthaginians. The temple of Hope, vowed by Atilius in the ſame Punic war, was dedicated by Germanicus.

L. MEANWHILE, the law of violated majeſty went on with increaſing fury. A proſecution founded on that cruel device was ſet on foot againſt Apuleia Varilia *(a)*, deſcended from a ſiſter of Auguſtus, and grand niece to that emperor. She was charged with ſpeaking defamatory words to the diſhonour of Auguſtus, and uttering ſharp invectives againſt Tiberius and his mother. Adultery was another head of accuſation: though related to the Cæſarian family, ſhe had, by her licentious conduct, brought diſgrace on that illuſtrious name. The laſt article was thrown out of the caſe, as a matter within the proviſions of the Julian law *(b)*. With regard to her calumnious language, Tiberius deſired that a diſtinction might be made. If it appeared in proof that ſhe had ſpoken irreverently of Auguſtus, the law, he ſaid, ſhould take its courſe; but perſonalities levelled at himſelf might paſs with impunity. A queſtion was put by the conſul touching the liberties taken with the emperor's mother. Tiberius made no reply. At the next meeting of the ſenate he informed the fathers that words affecting Livia, were, by her own deſire, never to be imputed as a crime. Varilia was acquitted

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quitted on the law of majeſty. With regard to the charge of adultery, Tiberius requeſted the fathers to ſoften the rigour of their ſentence. In conformity to ancient practice, he was of opinion, that the relations of the offender might remove her to the diſtance of two hundred miles from Rome. This mode of puniſhment was adopted. Manlius, her paramour, was baniſhed from Italy and Africa.

LI. THE office of prætor becoming vacant by the death of Vipſanius Gallus, the appointment of a ſucceſſor gave occaſion to a warm and eager conteſt. Haterius Agrippa, nearly related to Germanicus, was declared a candidate. Druſus and Germanicus, both ſtill at Rome, eſpouſed his intereſt. It was, however, a ſettled rule, that the perſon who had the greateſt number of children *(a)* ſhould be deemed to have the ſuperior title. From this line of deciſion many of the fathers were unwilling to depart. Tiberius ſaw with inward ſatisfaction the ſenate wavering between the law and the wiſhes of his ſons. The law, as may be imagined, proved too feeble. The two princes carried the queſtion, though not without a ſtrong contention, and by a ſmall majority. This, however, was no more than what often happened in better times, when laws were ſtill in force, but had to ſtruggle with power, and were often obliged to yield to ſuperior intereſt.

LII. BY the ſpirit of a bold and daring adventurer, a war was this year kindled up in Africa. This man, a Numidian by birth, and known by the name of Tacfarinas, had ſerved in the Roman camp among the auxiliary troops. He deſerted afterwards, and collected together a body of freebooters, accuſtomed to live by rapine, and by conſequence addicted to a life of warfare. Tacfarinas had acquired ſome rudiments of military diſcipline. He

formed his raſh levied numbers into companies of foot, and ſquadrons of horſe. Having drawn over to his party the Muſulanians *(a)*, a nation bordering on the wilds of Africa, where they led a roving life, without towns, or fixed habitations, he was no longer the chief of a band of robbers, but, with a higher title, the general of a people. The neighbouring Moors *(b)*, a race of ſavages, under the command of Mazippa, joined the confederacy. The two chiefs agreed to divide their troops into two ſeparate bodies. Tacfarinas, with the flower of the army, formed a regular camp, arming his men after the Roman manner, and training them to the art of war; while Mazippa, at the head of his light-armed freebooters, ravaged the country, and marked his way with fire and ſword. The Cinithians *(c)*, a nation by no means contemptible, were forced to enter into the league.

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At length, Furius Camillus, proconſul of Africa, advanced to check the inſurgents, at the head of a legion, and ſuch of the allies as ſtill remained under his command. With this handful of men, a ſlender force when compared to the numbers of the Moors and Numidians, the Roman general determined to hazard a deciſive action. His chief care was, not to ſtrike the enemy with terror. Their fears, he knew, would make them avoid an action, and protract the war. The Barbarians hoped to gain an eaſy victory, and by their hopes were led on to their deſtruction. Camillus drew up in order of battle. His legion formed the centre: in the wings were ſtationed the light cohorts, and two ſquadrons of horſe. Nor did Tacfarinas decline the conflict. He engaged, and was totally routed. By this victory the name of Camillus, after an interval of many years, ſeemed to retrieve its ancient honours. From him, who was the deliverer of Rome *(d)*, and his ſon, who emulated the father's example, all military fame was tranſplanted to other families, till

Camillus,

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Camillus, the conqueror of Tacfarinas, once more revived the glory of his anceſtors; but he did it without their talents. He had ſeen no ſervice, nor was he conſidered as an officer. Tiberius for that reaſon was the more laviſh in his praiſe. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to him by the ſenate; nor was he afterwards ruined by his merit. His moderation, and the ſimplicity of his manners, ſcreened him from envy. He enjoyed his honours with impunity.

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LIII. TIBERIUS and Germanicus were joint conſuls for the following year; the former for the third time, and the latter for the ſecond. Germanicus, in this juncture, was abſent from Rome, at the city of Nicopolis in Achaia. He had paſſed into Dalmatia, on a viſit to his brother Druſus. From that place he ſailed along the coaſt of Illyricum; and after a tempeſtuous voyage in the Adriatic and the Ionian ſeas, arrived at Nicopolis, where he was inveſted with his new dignity. His fleet had ſuffered, and took ſome days to refit for ſea. In the mean time he ſeized the opportunity to view the Bay of Actium, rendered famous by the great naval victory at that place. He ſaw the trophies *(a)* conſecrated by Auguſtus, and the lines of Mark Anthony's camp. To him, who was grand nephew to Auguſtus, and grandſon to Mark Anthony, the ſcene was intereſting. Every object reminded him of his anceſtors; and every circumſtance awakened thoſe tender ſenſations, in which the heart unites regret and pleaſure. From Nicopolis he proceeded to Athens. In that city, the ſeat of valour and of literature, and for many years in alliance with Rome, he ſhewed his reſpect for the inhabitants by appearing without pomp, attended only by a ſingle lictor. The Greeks exhauſted their invention to do him honour: ingenious in the arts of flattery, they took care to blend with their compliments frequent mention of the renowned exploits and

memorable ſayings of their anceſtors; and thus, by enhancing their own merit, they thought they gave refinement, and even value, to adulation.

LIV. FROM Athens Germanicus ſailed to the iſland of Eubœa, and thence to Leſbos, where Agrippina was delivered of a daughter, called Julia *(a)*, the laſt of her children. From Leſbos he purſued his voyage along the coaſt of Aſia; and, after viſiting Perinthus and Byzantium, two cities of Thrace, ſailed through the ſtraits of the Propontic, into the Euxine Sea, led by curioſity to viſit all places renowned in ſtory. In his progreſs he attended every where to the complaints of the inhabitants, whom he found diſtracted by their own inteſtine diviſions, or labouring under the tyranny of the magiſtrates. He redreſſed grievances, and eſtabliſhed good order, wherever he went.

On his return from the Euxine, he intended to viſit Samothracia *(b)*, famous for its rites and myſteries; but the wind ſpringing up from the north, he was obliged to bear away from the coaſt. He viewed the ruins of Troy, and the remains of antiquity in that part of the world, renowned for ſo many turns of fortune, the theatre of illuſtrious actions, and the origin of the Roman people. He landed next at Colophon, to conſult the oracle of the Clarian Apollo *(c)*. The reſponſes at this place were not delivered, like thoſe at Delphos, by a Pythian maid: a prieſt officiates, choſen by cuſtom out of certain privileged families, and generally a citizen of Miletus. From ſuch as apply to him, he requires nothing but their number and their names. Content with theſe particulars, he deſcends into a cavern; and, after drinking from a ſecret ſpring, though untinctured with learning, and a ſtranger to poetry, he breaks out in a ſtrain of enthuſiaſtic verſe, on the ſubject of every man's hopes and fears. He is ſaid to

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have foretold the approaching fate of Germanicus, but in the oracular ſtyle, dark and ænigmatical.

LV. PISO, in the mean time, impatient to execute his evil purpoſes, made his entry into Athens, and with the tumult of a rude and diſorderly train alarmed the city. In a public ſpeech he thought fit to declaim againſt the inhabitants, obliquely glancing at Germanicus, who, he ſaid, by ill-judged condeſcenſions, had impaired the dignity of the Roman name. The civility of the prince, he ſaid, was ſhewn, not to the men of Athens (a race long ſince extirpated), but to a vile heterogeneous maſs, the ſcum of various nations, at one time in league with Mithridates againſt Sylla, and afterwards with Mark Anthony againſt Auguſtus. He went back to the times of Philip of Macedon; condemning, in terms of reproach, not only their feeble exertions in their ſtruggle with that monarch, but alſo the ingratitude of a giddy populace to their beſt and ableſt citizens. To this behaviour Piſo was inſtigated by a private pique againſt the Athenians. It happened that one Theophilus was condemned for forgery by the judgment of the Areopagus *(a)*: Piſo endeavoured to gain a pardon for this man, but that upright judicature was inflexible.

After this prelude to the ſcenes which he was ſtill to act, Piſo embarked, and, after a quick paſſage through the Cyclades, arrived at Rhodes. While he lay at the mouth of the harbour, a ſtorm aroſe, and drove the veſſel on the point of a rock. Germanicus was then at Rhodes. He knew the hoſtilities that had been already commenced againſt himſelf, and might have left a man of that dangerous character to the mercy of the winds and waves; but, acting with his uſual benevolence, he ſent off boats and gallies to ſave even an enemy from deſtruction. Gratitude was not in the character of Piſo. He ſpent but a ſingle day with his

his benefactor; and, to take his meaſures beforehand, proceeded on his way to Syria. Having reached that place, he began by bribery, by intrigue, and cabal, to draw to himſelf the affections of the legions. He careſſed the loweſt of the ſoldiers: he diſmiſſed the centurions of approved experience, and removed all the tribunes, who ſupported military diſcipline; ſubſtituting in their room his own dependants, and, ſtill worſe, the vile and profligate, who had nothing but their crimes to recommend them. Sloth prevailed in the camp; licentiouſneſs diffuſed itſelf through the cities; and over the face of the country nothing was ſeen but a diſſipated and diſorderly band of ſoldiers. By theſe practices Piſo roſe into popularity, inſomuch that he was hailed the *Father of the Legions*.

His wife Plancina forgot the decencies of the female character. She attended the troops in the field; ſhe reviewed the cavalry; ſhe railed with ſpleen and malice againſt Agrippina, and did not even ſpare Germanicus. This behaviour, it was generally believed, had the approbation and countenance of Tiberius. The conſequence was, that not only the weak and profligate were alienated from Germanicus, but even the men of ſober conduct, who were inclined to remain in their duty, went in a ſhort time to pay their homage to the favourites of the emperor.

LVI. GERMANICUS was fully appriſed of theſe proceedings; but Armenia claimed his firſt attention. He haſtened without loſs of time to regulate the affairs of that kingdom; a kingdom where caprice and levity marked the national character, and the ſituation of the country encouraged the inconſtancy of the people. Armenia borders a great length of way upon the Roman provinces; then ſtretches, to a vaſt extent, as far as the territory of the Medes. Hemmed in by two great empires, that of Parthia *(a)*

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and of Rome, the Armenians are never ſteady to either; but, with their natural levity, alternately at variance with each; with the Romans, from rooted averſion; with the Parthians, from motives of ambition, and national jealouſy. In the preſent juncture, the throne was vacant. Vonones being expelled, the wiſhes of the people were fixed on Zeno, the ſon of Polemon, king of Pontus. The young prince had ſhewn, from his earlieſt youth, a decided inclination to Armenian manners. The ſports of the chaſe were his favourite amuſement; he delighted in carouſing feſtivals, and all the paſtimes of ſavage life. For theſe qualities he was high in eſteem, not only with the populace, but alſo the grandees of the nation. In this diſpoſition of men's minds, Germanicus entered the city of Artaxata, and, amidſt the acclamations of the people, placed the diadem on the head of Zeno. The Armenians paid homage to their new maſter, in the ardour of their zeal proclaiming him king, by the name of Artaxias *(b)*, in alluſion to the place of his coronation. About the ſame time, the Cappadocians, who had been reduced to the form of a province *(c)*, received Quintus Veranius as their governor. The firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration was, to remit part of the taxes heretofore paid to their kings; that, from ſo mild a beginning, the people might conceive a favourable idea of Roman moderation. The Comagenians, in like manner, ſubmitted to the government of a prætor, and Quintus Servæus was appointed to the office.

LVII. In this manner tranquillity was eſtabliſhed in the eaſt. The events were important, and ſuch as might have given Germanicus reaſon to congratulate himſelf; but his joy was poiſoned by the repeated hoſtilities, and the inſolence of Piſo. This man had orders to march with a detachment of the legions into Armenia, or, at his option, to give the command to his ſon. He complied in neither inſtance. The prince met him at Cyrrum, the

the winter quarters of the tenth legion. At that place they came to an interview, both with countenances adjuſted to the occaſion; Piſo with an air of intrepidity, ſtill diſdaining a ſuperior; and Germanicus with the ſerenity of a man, who wiſhed to ſtifle his reſentment. The gentle qualities of his nature inclined him at all times to moderation; but his friends, with the uſual talent of men, who love to make bad worſe, inflamed the quarrel. They aggravated what was true; they gave colour to falſehood; and omitted nothing to the diſadvantage of Piſo, Plancina, and their ſons.

In the preſence of a few ſelect friends, Germanicus came to an explanation: his language was in that meaſured ſtyle, which anger and prudence, combating each other, uſually inſpire. Piſo made an arrogant apology. The meeting broke up, and both retired with ſmothered reſentment. From this time Piſo rarely attended the tribunals of juſtice: whenever he appeared in court, his countenance plainly diſcovered ill will, and ſullen diſcontent. At a banquet given by the Nabathean king, a ſudden expreſſion fell from him, and betrayed his real temper. Golden crowns were preſented to the company: two, for Germanicus and Agrippina, were of a ponderous ſize; while thoſe for Piſo and the reſt were of inferior value. Piqued at the diſtinction, Piſo exclaimed, "This feaſt is made for the ſon of a Roman prince, not of a "Parthian king." In the inſtant he threw the preſent made to himſelf, with peeviſh contempt, on the ground, declaiming with bitterneſs againſt the growth of luxury. Germanicus heard his rude invective, but ſtill remained maſter of himſelf.

LVIII. About this time arrived ambaſſadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, with inſtructions to mention, in terms of reſpect, the ancient alliance between Rome and Parthia, and the deſire

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deſire of the monarch to renew their former friendſhip. As an earneſt of reſpect for Germanicus, Artabanus was willing to advance to an interview as far as the Euphrates; but he made it a condition, that Vonones ſhould be removed from Syria, where his reſidence, in the neighbourhood of Parthia, gave him an opportunity to carry on ſecret negociations with the nobles of the realm, and in time to ſtir up a revolt. Germanicus anſwered with condeſcenſion, yet with dignity. Of the alliance between Rome and Parthia he ſpoke with due regard, and the royal viſit he conſidered as an honour to himſelf. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis on the coaſt of Cilicia, not ſo much to comply with the demands of the Parthian king, as to curb the inſolence of Piſo, then linked in ties of friendſhip with the exiled prince, who had contrived, by marks of reſpect and magnificent preſents, to purchaſe the favour of Plancina.

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LIX. In the conſulſhip of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus made a progreſs into Ægypt, to view the monuments of antiquity ſo much celebrated in that country. For this journey the good of the province was his pretext. In fact, by opening the public granaries, he reduced the price of corn; and, by purſuing popular meaſures, he gained the goodwill of the inhabitants. He appeared in public without a guard; his feet uncovered, after the Greek faſhion; and the reſt of his apparel was alſo Greek. In theſe particulars he took for his model the conduct of Publius Scipio *(a)*, who, we are told, did the ſame in Sicily, while Rome was ſtill convulſed by the diſtractions of the Punic war. Tiberius, as ſoon as he received advices from Ægypt, condemned this affectation *(b)* of foreign manners, but without aſperity. Another point appeared to him of greater moment. Among the rules eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, it was a maxim of ſtate-policy *(c)*, that Ægypt ſhould be conſidered as forbidden ground,

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ground, which neither the ſenators, nor the Roman knights, ſhould preſume to tread, without the expreſs permiſſion of the prince. This was, no doubt, a wiſe precaution. It was ſeen that, whoever made himſelf maſter of Alexandria, with the ſtrong holds, which by ſea and land were the keys of the whole province, might, with a ſmall force, make head againſt the power of Rome, and, by blocking up that plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to a famine. Germanicus, without authority, had entered Alexandria; and this, to the jealous temper of Tiberius, was little ſhort of a ſtate crime.

LX. MEANWHILE Germanicus, little ſuſpecting that he had incurred the emperor's diſpleaſure, determined to ſail up the Nile. He ſet out from Canopus, a city built by the Spartans in memory of a pilot of that name, who was buried on the ſpot, at the time when Menelaus, on his return from Troy, was driven by adverſe winds on the coaſt of Libya. From Canopus, the next place of note was a mouth of the river dedicated to Hercules, who was born, as the inhabitants contend, in that country. He was, according to them, the firſt of the heroic line; and his name, being made another term for virtue, was by the voice of ſucceeding ages beſtowed on all who emulated the example of the Ægyptian worthy *(a)*. Germanicus proceeded to the magnificent ruins of the city of Thebes *(b)*, where ſtill was to be ſeen, on ancient obeliſks, a pompous deſcription, in Ægyptian characters, of the wealth and grandeur of the place. From the account of an elderly prieſt, who was deſired to interpret the *(c)* hieroglyphics of his country, it appeared that Thebes, at one time, contained within her walls no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand men capable of bearing arms; that the whole army was called forth into the field by Rhamſes *(d)*, one of the kings of Ægypt; and, under the auſpices of that monarch, overran all Libya, Æthiopia, and in their progreſs ſubdued the Medes and Perſians, the Bactrians

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and the Scythians, with the extenſive regions inhabited by the Syrians, the Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians. By this conqueſt, a tract of country, extending from Bithynia on the Pontic Sea to the coaſt of Lycia in the Mediterranean, was reduced to ſubjection. The inſcription further ſtated the tribute paid by the conquered nations; the ſpecific weight of gold and ſilver; the quantity of arms, the number of horſes, the offerings of ivory and of rich perfumes preſented to the temples of Ægypt; the meaſure of grain, and the various ſupplies adminiſtered by every nation; making altogether a prodigious revenue, no way inferior to the taxes of late years collected either by Parthian deſpotiſm, or the authority of Rome *(e)*.

LXI. In a country abounding with wonders, the curioſity of Germanicus was not eaſily ſatisfied. He ſaw the celebrated ſtatue of Memnon *(a)*, which, though wrought in ſtone, when played upon by the rays of the ſun, returns a vocal ſound. He viſited the pyramids, thoſe ſtupendous ſtructures raiſed by the emulation of kings, at an incredible expence, amidſt a waſte of ſands almoſt impaſſable. He ſaw the prodigious baſon *(b)*, formed by the labour of man, to receive the overflowings of the Nile; and in other parts of the river, where the channel is narrowed, he obſerved a depth of water ſo profound *(c)*, that the curioſity of travellers has never been able to explore the bottom. The prince proceeded as far as Elephantinè and Scyenè *(d)*, the boundaries formerly of the Roman empire, though now extended as far as the Red Sea.

LXII. While Germanicus paſſed the ſummer in viſiting the provinces of Ægypt, Druſus, by his able conduct in Pannonia, acquired no ſmall degree of reputation. He had the addreſs to make the Germans turn their hoſtilities againſt themſelves. The power

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power of Maroboduus was in its wane; and his countrymen were, by conſequence, encouraged to complete the ruin of that unfortunate prince. Catualda, a young man of rank, who was formerly compelled by the injuſtice of Maroboduus to fly his country, had taken refuge among the Gothones *(a)*. The ſeaſon of revenge was at length arrived. At the head of a ſtrong force he entered the territory of the Marcomanians. Having ſeduced the leading nobles to his party, he ſtormed the royal palace *(b)*, and took by aſſault a ſtrong caſtle nearly adjoining, where the Suevians had been accuſtomed to depoſit their plunder. A conſiderable booty fell into his hands. He found, beſides, a number of victuallers and traders from the Roman provinces; men who had been attracted to that part of the world by the liberty allowed to commerce, and by the love of lucre were induced to remain, till, by the force of habit, they loſt all remembrance of their native land.

LXIII. MAROBODUUS, finding himſelf deſerted by his people, had no reſource but in the friendſhip of Tiberius. He croſſed the Danube, where that river waſhes the confines of Noricum; and thence ſent his diſpatches to Rome, not in the humble ſtyle of a prince driven from his throne, but, even in ruin, with an elevation of mind worthy of his former grandeur. The ſubſtance of his letters was, that the nations who knew his fame in arms had made him offers of friendſhip, but he choſe rather to rely on the protection of the Romans. Tiberius promiſed him a ſafe retreat in Italy; with liberty, if his affairs took a favourable turn, to withdraw whenever his intereſt ſhould invite him. To the fathers he talked a different language: Philip of Macedon *(a)*, he ſaid, was not ſo much to be dreaded by the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus or Antiochus by the Roman people. His ſpeech on this occaſion is ſtill extant; we there find him magnifying the

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fortitude of the German chief, and the ferocity of the nations over which he reigned with abſolute power. He ſets forth the danger of a powerful enemy ſo near the Roman frontier, and applauds himſelf for the wiſdom of the meaſures that brought on the ruin of a great and warlike prince. Maroboduus was received at Ravenna; and there held up to the Suevians, if they dared to commence hoſtilities, as a prince that might once more aſcend the throne. In the ſpace, however, of eighteen years, Maroboduus never once ſtirred out of Italy. He grew grey in indolence; and clinging too long to a wretched life, ſurvived his reputation.

Catualda experienced a like reverſe of fortune, and found no better refuge. The Hermundurians, led on by Vibillius their chief, expelled him from the throne. The Romans fixed his reſidence at Foro-Julium, a colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians, who followed the fortunes of the two exiled kings, were not ſuffered to incorporate with the people of the provinces; but, to prevent the danger that might otherwiſe ſhake the public tranquillity, were conducted beyond the Danube, where they had allotments of land between the rivers Marus and Cuſus, under the command of Vannius, a man born in the Quadian nation, and by Tiberius made king of the colony.

LXIV. The elevation of Artaxias to the throne of Armenia being about this time known at Rome, the ſenate decreed the leſſer triumph to Druſus and Germanicus. Triumphal arches were raiſed near the Temple of Mars the Avenger, and the ſtatues of the two princes were placed in a conſpicuous point of view. Tiberius rejoiced at theſe events; and the more ſo, as they were the effect of policy, not of conqueſt. By the ſame inſidious arts he now began to plan the deſtruction of Rheſcuporis, king of Thrace. Rhæmetalces at one time reigned ſole monarch over that

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that whole country. After his death Auguſtus made a partition of the kingdom, aſſigning to Rheſcuporis, the late king's brother, one moiety; and the other to Cotys *(a)*, ſon of the deceaſed monarch. In this diviſion of the kingdom, the cultivated parts of the country, the fertile vales, and flouriſhing cities that lay contiguous to Greece, fell to the ſhare of Cotys; the wilds and barren places, which were open to hoſtile incurſions, were allotted to Rheſcuporis. The genius of the two kings reſembled their ſoil: the milder virtues diſtinguiſhed the character of Cotys; ferocity, ambition, rapine, and impatience of an equal, were the prominent features of Rheſcuporis. The princes preſerved at firſt a ſhow of mutual concord; in time Rheſcuporis began to encroach on his nephew, not indeed with open violence, as he knew that Auguſtus, the founder of both kingdoms, might likewiſe prove the avenger of wrongs. During that emperor's life, he concealed his deſigns; but he no ſooner heard that Rome had changed maſters, than he threw off the maſk, and avowed his ambition. With a band of freebooters he ravaged the country, razed to the ground the ſtrong holds and caſtles, and by every act of hoſtility provoked a war.

LXV. To keep things, which were once ſettled, in the ſame unaltered ſtate, was the principal care that occupied the anxious ſpirit of Tiberius. He diſpatched a centurion to reſtrain the Thracian kings from an open rupture. Cotys diſbanded his forces. Rheſcuporis reſolved to act with craft and ſubtlety. He propoſed a conference which, he had no doubt, would terminate all their differences. The time and place were fixed: a negociation was opened, both princes ſeeming willing to remove all difficulties. Cotys brought to the meeting a conciliating ſpirit; the uncle meditated a ſtroke of perfidy. To ratify the preliminaries, he propoſed a banquet. The parties met, and

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protracted their feſtivity to a late hour of the night. Amidſt the joys of wine, and in the moment of revelry, Rheſcuporis attacked his nephew, unſuſpecting and unprovided. The deluded prince urged in vain the rights of kings, the laws of hoſpitality, and the gods of their forefathers. He was loaded with irons. His treacherous uncle made himſelf maſter of all Thrace; and immediately ſent diſpatches to inform Tiberius that a dangerous conſpiracy againſt his life had been defeated by timely vigilance. In the mean time, under colour of an enterpriſe againſt the Baſternians and the Scythians, he made levies of horſe and foot, determined, at all events, to be prepared for a defenſive war.

LXVI. TIBERIUS returned for anſwer, that his conduct, if found to be free from reproach, would be his beſt protection; but neither the ſenate nor the emperor could prejudge the cauſe: the guilt or innocence of men muſt ariſe out of the facts. He added, that Rheſcuporis would do well to releaſe his nephew, and make the beſt of his way to Rome, in order to fix the criminality where it ought to fall. A letter to this effect from the emperor was forwarded to the Thracian king by Latinius Pandus, proprætor of Myſia. A band of ſoldiers went, at the ſame time, to demand that Cotys ſhould be delivered into their cuſtody. Rheſcuporis, divided between hope and fear, fluctuated for ſome time: he choſe, at length, rather to anſwer for an actual crime, than for the bare intention. He murdered Cotys, and ſpread a report that he died by his own hand. Tiberius heard the news without emotion, determined ſtill to purſue his plan of fraud and treachery. Latinius Pandus died in the interval. Rheſcuporis had always repreſented him as his inveterate enemy; but the government of Myſia being now vacant, Tiberius gave the adminiſtration of the province to Pomponius Flaccus *(a)*, a man of military experience, and upon the beſt terms

terms with Rheſcuporis. A friend, he knew, might prove in the end the moſt fatal enemy. That conſideration determined his choice.

LXVII. FLACCUS, without loſs of time, arrived in Thrace. He found Rheſcuporis in a ſtate of violent agitation, conſcious of his guilt, and overwhelmed with doubt and fear. He ſoothed him with gracious words, and by plauſible promiſes inveigled him to hazard his perſon within the lines of a Roman garriſon. Pretending there to do honour to the prince, he appointed a guard to attend him. The tribunes and centurions enticed him to go forward under their protection; till, having drawn him a conſiderable way, they avowed their purpoſe, and Rheſcuporis found that he was a priſoner in cloſe cuſtody. He was conducted to Rome, where the widow of Cotys accuſed him before the ſenate. His guilt was manifeſt: the ſenate decreed that he ſhould paſs the remainder of his days at a diſtance from his dominions. The kingdom of Thrace was once more divided. Rhæmetalces, ſon of the depoſed king, and always adverſe to his father's meaſures, had a portion of the realm; the reſt was granted to the ſons of Cotys, then under age. During their minority, Trebellienus Rufus, of prætorian rank, undertook the government of the kingdom in truſt for the heirs of Cotys, according to the precedent of former times, when the ſenate ſent Marcus Lepidus *(a)* to adminiſter the affairs of Ægypt in the capacity of regent and guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rheſcuporis was conveyed to Alexandria; and there attempting to make his eſcape, or perhaps unjuſtly charged with that deſign, he was ſeized and put to death.

LXVIII. ABOUT the ſame time Vonones, who, as has been mentioned, was detained in Cilicia, made a like attempt, but with

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with no better ſucceſs. Having corrupted the guards, he intended to puſh his way into Armenia, and thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, flattering himſelf that he ſhould be able to penetrate into Scythia, and there obtain protection from the reigning king, who was his near relation. With this intent he went on a hunting party; and, having watched his opportunity, betook himſelf to flight. Turning off from the ſea-coaſt, he ſtruck into the woods, and rode at full ſpeed towards the river Pyramus. The inhabitants, on the firſt alarm, demoliſhed the bridges. The river was not fordable. Vonones was found wandering along the banks, and by order of Vibius Fronto, the commander of the cavalry, loaded with fetters. He did not long ſurvive. Remmius, a reſumed veteran, had been entruſted with the cuſtody of his perſon. This man, in a ſudden tranſport of pretended paſſion, drew his ſword, and ran the unhappy prince through the body. The ſecret cauſe of this violent act cannot now be aſcertained *(a)*: the general opinion was, that the ſoldier had been bribed to favour the king's eſcape, and, rather than be detected as an accomplice, choſe to be an aſſaſſin.

LXIX. GERMANICUS, on his return from Ægypt, found all his regulations, in the civil as well as the military line, totally aboliſhed, or changed to a ſyſtem directly contrary to his intentions. Hence a new ſource of diſſenſion. He condemned the conduct of Piſo; and in return met with nothing but contumacy, and a ſpirit of oppoſition to all his meaſures. Piſo was at length determined to evacuate Syria: hearing, however, that Germanicus was attacked by a ſudden illneſs, he changed his reſolution. He had ſoon after the mortification of learning that the diſorder was abated. At Antioch the news diffuſed a general joy. The people of that place had offered vows for the recovery of the prince; and, having obtained the object of their

wiſhes, began by ſolemn rites to diſcharge the obligations which they had impoſed upon themſelves. Enraged at this proceeding, Piſo interrupted the ceremonies; by his lictors he drove the victims from the altars; he ſpread terror and confuſion through the temples, and diſperſed the congregation. After this exploit he withdrew to Seleucia. At that place, having advice that Germanicus was relapſed, he reſolved to make ſome ſtay, in expectation of the event. The prince ſuſpected that poiſon had been ſecretly conveyed by Piſo, and that idea added to the malignity of his diſorder.

A diſcovery was made of a ſingular nature. Under the floor, and in the cavities of the walls *(a)*, a collection of human bones was found, with charms, and magic verſes, and incantations. The name of Germanicus was graved on plates of lead; fragments of human bodies, not quite conſumed to aſhes, were diſcovered in a putrid condition; with a variety of thoſe magic ſpells, which, according to the vulgar opinion, are of potency to devote the ſouls of the living to the infernal gods. Amidſt the confuſion occaſioned by theſe extraordinary circumſtances, meſſengers were ſent by Piſo to enquire after the health of Germanicus; but thoſe men were conſidered as ſpies, who came to watch for intelligence.

LXX. GERMANICUS was informed of all that paſſed. Fear and indignation took poſſeſſion of him by turns. "If my doors," he ſaid, "are to be beſieged by my enemies; if interlopers are "to ſee me at the point of expiration, what is the proſpect that "my wife has before her? and what are my children to ex- "pect? The poiſon is too ſlow in its operation for the wiſhes of "my enemies; they want to haſten its effect; and the impa- "tience of Piſo has already ſwallowed up the province, with the "command

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"command of the legions. But Germanicus is not yet deſerted "by all: his enemies may ſtill have reaſon to repent; and the "murderer will find that he has not long to enjoy the wages of "his guilt." In this temper of mind he wrote a letter to Piſo, in expreſs terms diſclaiming all friendſhip and connection with him; as ſome will have it, he commanded him to depart from the province. Piſo, in fact, did not linger at Seleucia: he embarked immediately, but ſlackened his courſe; ſtill willing to hover near the coaſt, in hopes that the death of Germanicus would leave the province open to his ambition.

LXXI. THE diſorder intermitting for a ſhort time, Germanicus had an interval of hope. But the fatal moment was approaching: he ſunk into a mortal languor; and, finding himſelf near his end, took leave of his friends in words to the following effect: "Were I to die a natural death, yet, thus cut "off in the bloom of life from my family, my children, and my "country, I might think it hard, and call the gods ſevere in "their diſpenſations. Falling, as I now do, a victim to the "iniquity of Piſo and his wife Plancina, I leave with you, my "friends, the requeſt of a dying man. You know the indig-"nities that provoked me beyond all enduring; you know the "ſnares that have been laid for me; and you ſee the anguiſh of "heart that brings me prematurely to my grave: relate the "whole to my father and my brother *(a)*. The friends, whom "proſperity connected with me; my relations, more cloſely "united by the ties of blood, will hear the ſtory with indig-"nation: even envy, that never fails to perſecute the living, "will drop a tear over my remains. All will lament the fate "of an unhappy prince, whom they ſaw flouriſhing in the "ſmiles of fortune, a conqueror in ſo many battles, yet at laſt "ſnatched away by the artifices of female malice *(b)*. It will "be

"be yours to appeal to the ſenate; yours to invoke the ven-
"geance of the laws; and yours to ſhew your friendſhip, not
"by unavailing tears, but by executing my laſt commands.
"In that conſiſts the nobleſt duty, the beſt tribute to the memory
"of the dead. Even ſtrangers who never ſaw me will be
"touched with ſympathy; and you, my friends, if I was ever
"dear to you, if you followed my perſon and not my fortune,
"you will revenge my fall. Shew to the Roman people my
"afflicted wife, the grand-daughter of Auguſtus; ſhew my
"children, my ſix unhappy orphans. Compaſſion will be on
"the ſide of the proſecutors; and ſhould my enemies attempt
"to ſcreen themſelves by pleading ſecret orders, mankind will
"either not believe them, or believing, will not forgive them."
The friends of the dying prince claſped his hand, and bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to revenge his death, or periſh in the attempt.

LXXII. GERMANICUS turned to his wife, and fixing his eyes upon her, earneſtly conjured her by the memory of her huſband, and by their mutual children, to abate from the pride and fierceneſs of her diſpoſition. To bend to the ſtroke of adverſity, and at her return to Rome not to provoke by vain competition the reſentment of enemies too high in power, was all that now was left.—Thus far with an audible voice: he then whiſpered a ſecret caution, which was ſuppoſed to point at the malignity of Tiberius. In a ſhort time after he breathed his laſt. The provinces lamented their loſs; he was honoured by kings, and regretted by the neighbouring nations; ſuch was his equal behaviour to the allies of Rome, and ſuch the humanity that endeared him even to the enemy. Graceful in his perſon, he charmed by his affability; beloved, when heard; admired, when

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only ſeen; and, in the higheſt elevation, great without arrogance *(a)*, he maintained the dignity of his rank, yet never gave envy reaſon to repine at his ſucceſs.

LXXIII. THE funeral was plain and ſimple, without pomp or pageantry. No images *(a)* were carried in the proceſſion. Fond remembrance, and the praiſes due to virtue, were the beſt decorations. Between him and Alexander men formed a parallel: his time of life, the graces of his perſon, the manner of his death, and the ſmall diſtance between the places where both expired, gave room for the compariſon. Both, it was obſerved, were of a comely form; both of illuſtrious birth; neither of them much exceeding the thirtieth year of his age; and both died in a foreign land, cut off by domeſtic treachery. But Germanicus had qualities peculiar to himſelf: he was mild and gracious to his friends, in his pleaſures temperate, an affectionate huſband, and by one wife the father of a numerous iſſue. Nor was his military character any way inferior: he had the bravery of Alexander, without his raſhneſs; and, if he had not been recalled from Germany, where he gained ſo many ſignal victories, the entire conqueſt of that country had crowned his operations with immortal glory. The power of the ſtate was never in his hands. Had he poſſeſſed the ſole authority, with the royal title, and the prerogative of a prince, the progreſs of his arms would have made him equal to the conqueror of Darius; while, on the ſide of virtue, his clemency, his moderation, his temperance, and other amiable qualities, gave him a decided ſuperiority. The body lay in ſtate in the forum at Antioch, where the funeral ceremony was performed. Whether any ſymptoms of poiſon were diſcovered *(b)*, is uncertain. The people were divided into oppoſite parties, and their opinions varied accordingly. Some lamented the deceaſed

prince,

prince, and, in minds ſo prepoſſeſſed, ſuſpicion amounted to proof; others warped into the intereſts of Piſo; and all pronounced according to the bias of their inclinations.

LXXIV. In this juncture, who was the fit perſon to govern the province, became the ſubject of debate. A council for this purpoſe was held by the commanders of the legions, and all of ſenatorian rank, then on the ſpot. A number of candidates appeared. After a ſhort ſtruggle, the conteſt lay between Vibius Marſus and Cneius Sentius. The queſtion hung for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. Marſus at length withdrew his pretenſions; willing to yield to a ſenior officer, who ſhewed himſelf ambitious of the honour. The firſt ſtep of the new governor was to ſend to Rome a woman of the name of Martina, well known throughout the province for her practices in the trade of poiſoning, and alſo for her intimacy with Plancina. This meaſure was adopted at the requeſt of Vitellius *(a)*, Veranius, and a number of others, who were then actually buſy in collecting evidence, and preparing the charge with as much aſſiduity, as if the proſecution had been already commenced in due form of law.

LXXV. Meanwhile Agrippina, pierced to the heart, and her health impaired by affliction, reſolved, notwithſtanding, to ſurmount every obſtacle that might retard the hand of juſtice. She embarked for Italy with the aſhes of Germanicus, and her orphan children. All eyes beheld her with compaſſion; all were grieved that a woman of the higheſt diſtinction, ſo lately happy with the beſt of men, and in the ſplendour of a court ſeen with univerſal homage, ſhould undertake a melancholy voyage, with the urn of him ſhe loved, not ſure of a juſt revenge, alarmed for herſelf, and by the fruitfulneſs of her mar-

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riage bed expoſed to calamities yet unknown. Piſo was at the iſle of Coos. He there received advice that Germanicus was no more. Tranſported with joy beyond all bounds, he haſtened to the temples, and offered victims as a public thankſgiving. Plancina was ſtill more extravagant: ſhe laid aſide her mourning for a deceaſed ſiſter, to celebrate in her gayeſt apparel an event ſo grateful to her heart.

LXXVI. THE centurions flocked in crowds to Piſo, aſſuring him that the legions were devoted to his ſervice, and for that reaſon exhorting him to reſume a command unjuſtly taken from him. Piſo called a council of his friends: his ſon, Marcus Piſo, was for his returning to Rome without delay. "What had "been done, might well be juſtified: ſuſpicions, unſupported by "proof, would ſoon evaporate; and vague reports were of no "moment. The long contention with Germanicus might per- "haps be cenſured: it was unpopular, but could not amount to "a crime. Piſo had loſt his government, and by that circum- "ſtance the rage of his enemies would be appeaſed. To return "to Syria, were to enter into a civil war with Sentius. The "centurions and ſoldiers were not to be truſted. The memory "of Germanicus was ſtill recent; and that affection for the "Cæſarian family, which had taken root in the minds of all, "would operate throughout the army."

LXXVII. DOMITIUS CELER, the intimate friend of Piſo, was of a contrary opinion. "The opportunity," he ſaid, "ſhould "be ſeized without delay. Piſo, and not Sentius, was the legal "governor of Syria: the prætorian juriſdiction, the enſigns of "magiſtracy, and the command of the legions, were committed "to his care. If the ſword muſt be drawn, who had ſo much "right on his ſide as the perſon, who received his commiſſion "from

"from the emperor? Public rumour ſhould not be too ſoon "encountered. Give the report of the day time to grow ſtale, "and it dies of itſelf. In the firſt heat of prejudice, innocence "itſelf has often fallen a victim to popular clamour. If Piſo, "at the head of an army, ſtood at bay with his enemies, new "emergencies, which no wiſdom could foreſee, might unex-"pectedly aſſiſt his cauſe. Why ſhould he haſten to the ca-"pital? Was it his intereſt to enter Rome with Agrippina "bearing the urn of Germanicus? Did he mean, unheard and "undefended, to try the effect of female lamentation, or to be "hurried to execution by the fury of a licentious rabble? Livia, "it is true, is of your party, and Tiberius will favour you; but "both will act in ſecret: and, in fact, none will grieve for "Germanicus with ſo much oſtentation of ſorrow, as they who, "in their hearts, rejoice at the event."

LXXVIII. THE turbulent genius of Piſo was eaſily ſatisfied with this reaſoning. He diſpatched letters to Tiberius, charging Germanicus with pride and luxury; and farther complaining, that, with views of ambition, he had driven out of Syria the lawful governor, duly appointed by the emperor. That governor, he added, would now reſume the command; and, by a faithful diſcharge of ſo important a truſt, demonſtrate his zeal for the public ſervice. Thus determined, he ordered Domitius to ſail for Syria; keeping as much as poſſible in the open ſea, without touching at any of the iſlands, or approaching too near to the main land. Meanwhile, deſerters crowded in from all quarters. Piſo formed them into companies; he armed the loweſt followers of the army, and with this haſty levy embarked for the continent. He had not long been landed, when a body of recruits, marching to the legions in Syria, fell in his way. He drew them over to his party, and by circular letters

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letters demanded ſuccours from the petty kings of Cilicia. The younger Piſo, though he had objected to the meaſure, was not inactive in his father's ſervice.

LXXIX. Piso's fleet, and that which conveyed Agrippina, met near the coaſt of Lycia and Pamphilia. They beheld each other with animoſity. Both parties were eager to come to action; but they paſſed each other, content with throwing out reproaches and opprobrious language. Vibius Marſus ſummoned Piſo "to "appear at Rome, and ſtand his trial." Piſo anſwered with deriſion, "that he would be ſure to attend, when the prætor, "veſted with juriſdiction in matters of poiſon, had cited the "parties, and appointed a day." Meanwhile Domitius, who had landed at Laodicea, in the province of Syria, advanced towards the winter-quarters of the ſixth legion; expecting, in that corps, to find the minds of the men ripe for mutiny and deſertion. By the vigilance of Pacuvius, who commanded in thoſe parts, the attempt was fruſtrated. Sentius, by letters to Piſo, complained of theſe proceedings; at the ſame time warning him neither to corrupt the army, nor diſturb the peace of the province. His next care was to draught from the legions all ſuch ſoldiers as were known to be attached to Germanicus, or adverſe to his enemies. He repreſented the attempts of Piſo as an invaſion of the imperial dignity, and a war againſt the commonwealth. Having excited the ardour of his men, he marched into Cilicia, prepared to decide the diſpute by force of arms.

LXXX. Piso found himſelf preſſed on every ſide, and yet was determined not to abandon his enterpriſe. He ſeized a ſtrong hold in Cilicia, called the caſtle of Celendris. With a body of deſerters, incorporated with the recruits lately intercepted, and the

the auxiliaries ſent by the kings of Cilicia, he threw himſelf into the place, reſolved to hold out to the laſt. To his forces he added his own ſlaves, and thoſe of Plancina, forming altogether a number equal to a legion. To excite their courage, he complained aloud that he, the governor appointed by Tiberius, was driven out of the province, not by the legions (for they invited him to return) but by Sentius, who, with the ſpecious colour of public motives, varniſhed over his own private animoſity. He told his troops, that they had only to ſhew themſelves in force, and the affair would be decided. The ſoldiers of the adverſe party, at the ſight of Piſo, whom they hailed the father of the legions, would lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the man who not only had juſtice on his ſide, but, if neceſſary, courage and reſolution to maintain his rights. Having thus exhorted his people, he drew them out before the walls of the caſtle, on the ſummit of a craggy hill. The place was every where elſe ſurrounded by the ſea. The veterans, under Sentius, advanced in regular order. A body of reſerve followed to ſupport them. On one ſide were ſeen ſkill and bravery: on the other, nothing but the advantage of the ground; no courage to incite; no hope to animate; and no warlike weapons, but only ſuch ruſtic tools as the men were able to ſnatch up in the firſt tumult of a dangerous enterprize. An engagement followed; but the victory was no longer in ſuſpenſe, than while the Romans were employed in forcing their way up the aſcent of the hill. The ſteep being ſurmounted, the Cilicians fled for ſhelter to their fortifications.

LXXXI. The fleet under the command of Sentius lay at anchor under the walls of Celendris. Piſo made a ſally, with intent to ſeize the ſhips. Being repulſed, he ſhewed himſelf before the works of the caſtle; he complained of cruel injuſtice, and tried by the force of pathetic language to ſoften the legions in his

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favour; he called upon individuals by name, and by ample promiſes hoped to raiſe a ſpirit of ſedition. His ſucceſs was ſuch, that an eagle-bearer of the ſixth legion deſerted to him with his ſtandard. Sentius reſolved to carry the place by aſſault. The ſignal for the charge was given; ſcaling ladders were advanced to the walls; the foremoſt in courage began to mount to the top of the works; while an inceſſant volley of darts, and ſtones, and flaming brands was poured in upon the garriſon. Piſo deſired to capitulate. He offered to lay down his arms, upon condition that he ſhould remain in the caſtle till the emperor's pleaſure touching the government of the province ſhould be finally declared. The propoſition was rejected. Sentius allowed him ſafe conduct to Italy, and ſhipping for his paſſage: no other terms were granted.

LXXXII. THE indiſpoſition of Germanicus was known at Rome ſome time before his death. The news, like all diſtant intelligence, increaſed every moment, and bad was made worſe by exaggeration. Grief and loud complaints filled every quarter of the city. "Was it for this, that Germanicus was ſent to diſtant "regions? For this, was the province of Syria aſſigned to Piſo? "This is the conſequence of private interviews between Livia "and Plancina! When Druſus, the father of Germanicus, died, it "was obſerved by men of reflection, and obſerved with truth, "that if the ſon of a deſpotic prince is the friend of civil liberty, "his father never forgives his virtues. It was for this that Druſus "and Germanicus were ſnatched away from the Roman people. "They intended to reſtore the old conſtitution, and they periſhed "in the cauſe." Such were the ſentiments that prevailed at Rome. The fatal news at length arrived. In that moment the paſſions of men knew no bounds. Without waiting for an edict of the magiſtrates, or a decree of the ſenate, a ceſſation of all buſi-

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neſs took place; the courts of juſtice were deſerted; houſes were ſhut up; ſhrieks and groans burſt out, and at intervals a deep and awful ſilence followed.

A general mourning covered the face of the city. The exterior forms of grief were obſerved, but the anguiſh of the heart ſurpaſſed all outward ſhow. It happened, before Germanicus expired, that certain traders from Syria arrived at Rome with favourable accounts. What was wiſhed, was eaſily believed. The news ſpread with rapidity; he who heard imperfectly made his report with additions; others did the ſame; and thus the ſtory went on, gathering ſtrength from mouth to mouth, and diffuſing univerſal joy. The populace ran wild through the ſtreets; they threw open the gates of the temples *(a)*; night came on; the hurry ſtill continued; aſſertion grew more confident in the dark, and credulity liſtened with a greedy ear. Tiberius ſaw the deluſion, but calmly left it to its own futility. Time diſcloſed the truth; the people renewed their ſorrow with redoubled violence, as if the prince had been torn from them a ſecond time.

LXXXIII. The ſenate met to decree honours to his memory. Friendſhip put itſelf to the ſtretch, and men of talents exhauſted their invention. It was voted that the name of Germanicus ſhould be inſerted in the Salian Hymn *(a)*; that a curule chair, adorned with a civic crown, ſhould be placed in the college of Auguſtan prieſts; that his ſtatue, wrought in ivory, ſhould be carried in the proceſſion of the Circenſian games; and that the vacancy made by his death in the liſt of flamens and augurs, ſhould be filled from the Julian family only. Triumphal arches were ordered to be erected at Rome, on the Rhine, and mount Amanus in Syria, with inſcriptions ſetting forth the ſplendor of his actions, and, in direct terms, declaring that he died in the

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ſervice of his country. At Antioch, where his remains were burnt, a mauſoleum was ordered; and at Epidaphne, where he died, a tribunal in honour of his memory. Of the ſeveral ſtatues, and the places where they were to be worſhipped, it would be difficult to give a regular catalogue. It was farther propoſed that a ſhield of pure gold *(b)*, exceeding the ordinary ſize, ſhould be dedicated to him in the place allotted to orators of diſtinguiſhed eloquence. Tiberius overruled the motion, declaring his intention to order one of the common ſize, and the uſual metal. Superior rank, he ſaid, did not confer ſuperior eloquence. A place among the great writers of antiquity would be ſufficient honour. The equeſtrian order came to a reſolution, that the troop called the youthful ſquadron, ſhould for the future take its name from Germanicus; and that his image ſhould be carried at the head of their annual cavalcade, on the ides of July. Of theſe ſeveral inſtitutions, many are ſtill ſubſiſting; ſome fell into diſuſe; and others by length of time have been aboliſhed.

LXXXIV. WHILE the tears of the public ſtill flowed for Germanicus, Livia, the ſiſter of that prince, and the wife of Druſus, was delivered of two ſons at a birth. In families of inferior rank, events of this kind are rare, and always matter of joy. Tiberius was tranſported beyond meaſure. He had the vanity to boaſt before the ſenate, that ſo ſingular a bleſſing had never happened to any Roman of equal dignity. It was the policy of that ſubtle ſpirit to extract from every occurrence, and even from chance, ſomething that tended to his own glory. The people, however, did not ſympathize with the emperor. They ſaw, with regret, the family of Druſus increaſing, and that of Germanicus in danger of being eclipſed.

LXXXV. IN the courſe of this year, ſeveral decrees againſt the

the licentiouſneſs of female manners paſſed the ſenate. It was ordained by a law, that no woman whoſe grandfather, father, or huſband was a Roman knight, ſhould be allowed to make her perſon venal. The profligacy of Viſtilia, deſcended from a father of prætorian rank, gave riſe to this regulation. She preſented herſelf before the ædiles, and in form made a public profeſſion of lewdneſs *(a)*, according to the rule eſtabliſhed in ancient times, when women, regiſtered as harlots by the magiſtrate, had the privilege of leading a life of debauchery. The principle of that law was, that the very act of profeſſing the character of a proſtitute would be a puniſhment, and perhaps operate as a reſtraint. Titidius Labeo, the huſband of Viſtilia, was cited to aſſign a reaſon why ſo abandoned a woman had not been brought to condign puniſhment. To exculpate himſelf, he alleged that the ſixty days *(b)*, allowed by law for the conſultations neceſſary in matters of that nature, were not elapſed. Satisfied with the anſwer, the fathers thought it ſufficient to proceed againſt the adultreſs. She was baniſhed to the Iſle of Seriphos. The Ægyptian *(c)* and Jewiſh ceremonies were the next ſubject of debate. By a decree of the ſenate, four thouſand of that deſcription, the deſcendants of enfranchiſed ſlaves, all infected with foreign ſuperſtition, and of age to carry arms, were tranſported to the iſland of Sardinia, to make war upon the freebooters, who plundered the inhabitants, and ravaged the country. If the whole number died in that unwholeſome climate, the loſs, it was ſaid, would be of no kind of moment. The remaining ſectaries were ordered, at a certain day, to depart out of Italy, unleſs before that time they renounced their impious worſhip.

LXXXVI. The choice of a veſtal virgin, in the room of Occia, who had been, with the greateſt ſanctity of manners, preſident of the order during a ſpace of ſeven-and-fifty years, was by Tiberius

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referred to the ſenate. Fonteius Agrippa, and Domitius Pollio, made each of them an offer of his daughter. The emperor commended their zeal for the public ſervice. The daughter of Pollio was preferred. Her mother had never known but one huſband, and, ſtill continuing to live with him, gave an example of conjugal fidelity; whereas the divorce of Agrippa was conſidered as a blemiſh in the family. That reaſon, and that only, determined the preſent choice. The repulſe of the diſappointed candidate was ſoftened by a preſent of a thouſand great ſeſterces, granted by Tiberius.

LXXXVII. To appeaſe the clamours of the people about the exorbitant price of corn, the ſum to be paid by the purchaſer was aſcertained, Tiberius undertaking to grant a bounty of two ſeſterces on the meaſure *(a)*, as an encouragement to the vender. On this, as on former occaſions, he refuſed the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. He even cenſured, with a degree of aſperity, the zeal of thoſe who gave him the appellation of LORD AND MASTER, and wanted to dignify his adminiſtration with the epithet of DIVINE *(b)*. In this manner, eloquence was confined within narrow limits. What topic could be ſafely handled? The emperor was the enemy of civil liberty, and he deteſted flattery.

LXXXVIII. IN the memoirs of ſome of the ſenators of that day, and alſo in the works of contemporary writers, mention, I find, is made of letters from Adgandeſtrius, prince of the Cattians, which were read in the ſenate. They contained a propoſal to diſpatch Arminius, provided poiſon for that purpoſe were ſent from Rome. The anſwer was magnificent: the German was told that the Roman people were in the habit of waging war, not by fraud and covert ſtratagem, but ſword in hand, and in the field of battle. In this inſtance, Tiberius vied with the ge-

nerals of ancient Rome, who with ſcorn rejected the ſcheme of poiſoning Pyrrhus *(a)*, and even delivered up the traitor who harboured that baſe deſign.

Arminius, however, did not long ſurvive. The Roman army being withdrawn from Germany, and Maroboduus ruined, he had the ambition to aim at the ſovereign power. The independent ſpirit of his countrymen declared againſt him. A civil war enſued. Arminius fought with alternate viciſſitudes of fortune, and fell at laſt by the treachery of his own relations: a man of warlike genius, and, beyond all queſtion, the deliverer of Germany. He had not, like the kings and generals of a former day, the infancy of Rome to cope with: he had to ſtruggle with a great and flouriſhing empire; he attacked the Romans in the meridian of their glory. He ſtood at bay for a number of years with equivocal ſucceſs; ſometimes victorious, often defeated, but in the iſſue of the war ſtill unconquered. He died at the age of ſeven-and-thirty, after twelve years of fame and power. In the rude poetry of the Barbarians *(b)*, his name is celebrated to this hour; unknown indeed to the annaliſts of Greece, who embelliſh nothing but their own ſtory. Even amongſt the Romans, the character of this illuſtrious chief has met with little juſtice, abſorbed as the people are in their veneration of antiquity, while to the virtue of their own times they remain inſenſible and incurious.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK III.

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Theſe tranſactions include three years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls.
773	20	*M. Valerius Meſſala, C. Aurelius Cotta.*
774	21	*Tiberius, 4th time; Druſus, his ſon, 2d time.*
775	22	*D. Haterius Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Galba.*

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AGRIPPINA purſued her voyage without intermiſſion. Neither the rigour of the winter, nor the rough navigation in that ſeaſon of the year, could alter her reſolution. She arrived at the iſland of Corcyra, oppoſite to the coaſt of Calabria. At that place ſhe remained a few days, to appeaſe the agitations of a mind pierced to the quick, and not yet taught in the ſchool of affliction to ſubmit with patience. The news of her arrival ſpreading far and wide, the intimate friends of the family, and moſt of the officers, who had ſerved under Germanicus, with a number of ſtrangers from the municipal towns, ſome to pay their court, others carried along with the current, preſſed forward in crowds to the city of Brunduſium, the neareſt and moſt convenient port.

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As ſoon as the fleet came in ſight of the harbour, the ſea-coaſt, the walls of the city, the tops of houſes, and every place that gave even a diſtant view, were crowded with ſpectators. Compaſſion throbbed in every breaſt. In the hurry of their firſt emotions, men knew not what part to act: ſhould they receive her with acclamations? or would ſilence beſt ſuit the occaſion? Nothing was ſettled. The fleet entered the harbour, not with the alacrity uſual among mariners, but with a ſlow and ſolemn ſound of the oar, impreſſing deeper melancholy on every heart.

Agrippina came forth, leading two of her children *(a)*, with the urn of Germanicus in her hand, and her eyes ſteadfaſtly fixed upon that precious object. A general groan was heard. Men and women, relations and ſtrangers, all joined in one promiſcuous ſcene of ſorrow, varied only by the contraſt between the attendants of Agrippina, and thoſe who now received the firſt impreſſion. The former appeared with a languid air; while the latter, yielding to the ſenſation of the moment, broke out with all the vehemence of recent grief.

II. TIBERIUS had ordered to Brunduſium two prætorian cohorts. The magiſtrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, had it in command to pay every mark of honour to the memory of the emperor's ſon. The urn was borne on the ſhoulders of the centurions and tribunes, preceded by the colours, not diſplayed with military pomp, but drooping in diſorder, with all the negligence of grief. The faſces were inverted. In the colonies through which they paſſed, the populace in mourning, and the knights in their purple robes, threw into the flames rich perfumes, ſpices, and garments, with other funeral offerings, according to the ability of the place. Even from diſtant towns the people came in crowds to meet the proceſſion; they preſented victims; they erected

erected altars to the gods of departed ſouls, and by their lamentations marked their ſenſe of the public calamity. Druſus advanced as far as Terracina, accompanied by Claudius *(a)*, the brother of Germanicus, and the children of the deceaſed prince that had been left at Rome. The conſuls, Marcus Valerius Meſſala, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who a little before had entered on their magiſtracy, with the whole ſenate, and a numerous body of citizens, went out to meet the melancholy train. The road was crowded; no order kept, no regular proceſſion; they walked, and wept, as inclination prompted. Flattery had no ſhare in the buſineſs: where the court rejoiced in ſecret, men could not weep themſelves into favour. Tiberius indeed diſſembled, but he could not deceive. Through the thin diſguiſe the malignant heart was ſeen.

III. NEITHER the emperor nor his mother appeared in public. They imagined, perhaps, that to be ſeen in a ſtate of affliction, might derogate from their dignity; or, the better reaſon was, that a number of prying eyes might unmaſk their inmoſt ſentiments. It does not appear, either in the hiſtorians of the time, or in the public journals, that Antonia *(a)*, the mother of Germanicus, took any part in the funeral ceremony. Agrippina, Druſus, Claudius, and the reſt of the prince's relations, are regiſtered by name; but of Antonia no mention is made. She was probably hindered from attending by want of health, or the ſenſibility of a mother might be unequal to ſo ſevere a trial. To ſpeak my own opinion, I am inclined to believe that nothing but the emperor and his mother could reſtrain her from the laſt human office to her ſon. If all three abſented themſelves, equal affliction might be inferred; and the uncle and grandmother might be ſuppoſed to find a precedent in the conduct of the mother.

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IV. THE day on which the remains of Germanicus were depoſited in the tomb of Auguſtus, was remarkable for ſorrow in various ſhapes. A deep and mournful ſilence prevailed, as if Rome was become a deſert; and, at intervals, the general groan of a diſtracted multitude broke forth at once. The ſtreets were crowded; the Field of Mars glittered with torches; the ſoldiers were under arms; the magiſtrates appeared without the enſigns of their authority; and the people ſtood ranged in their ſeveral tribes. All, with one voice, deſpaired of the commonwealth; they ſpoke their minds without reſerve, in the anguiſh of their hearts forgetting the maſter that reigned over them. Nothing, however, touched Tiberius ſo near, as the decided affection of the people for Agrippina, who was ſtyled the ornament of her country, the only blood of Auguſtus, and the laſt remaining model of ancient manners. With hands upraiſed, the people invoked the gods, imploring them to protect the children of Germanicus from the malice of pernicious enemies.

V. THERE were at that time men of reflection who thought the whole of the ceremony ſhort of that funeral pomp which the occaſion required. The magnificence diſplayed in honour of Druſus, the father of Germanicus, was put in contraſt to the preſent frugality. "Auguſtus, in the depth of winter, went as "far as Ticinum to meet the body; and, never quitting it after-"wards, entered the city in the public proceſſion. The bier was "decorated with the images of the Claudian and the Livian fa-"milies: tears were ſhed in the forum; a funeral oration was "delivered from the roſtrum; and every honour, as well of "ancient as of modern invention, was offered to the memory "of the deceaſed. How different was the caſe at preſent? Even "the diſtinctions uſually granted to perſons of illuſtrious rank, "were refuſed to Germanicus. The body was committed to the "funeral pile in a foreign land; that was an act of neceſſity;

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" but, to compenſate for the firſt deficiency, too much could not " be done. One day's journey was all that a brother performed. " The uncle did not ſo much as go to the city-gate. Where now " the uſage of ancient times? Where the bed on which the " image of the deceaſed lay in ſtate? Where the verſes in honour " of departed virtue? Where the funeral panegyric, and the tear " that embalms the dead? If real tears were not ready to guſh, " where, at leaſt, were the forms of grief? and where the decency " of pretended ſorrow?"

VI. TIBERIUS was not ignorant of what paſſed. To appeaſe the murmurs of the people, he iſſued a proclamation, in which it was obſerved, " that eminent men had at various times fallen in " the ſervice of their country, though none were ſo ſincerely " lamented as Germanicus. The regret ſhewn on the preſent " occaſion, did honour to the virtue of the people, and the im- " perial dignity; but grief muſt have its bounds. That which " might be proper in private families, or in petty ſtates, would " ill become the grandeur of a people *(a)* who gave laws to the " world. Recent affliction muſt have its courſe. The heart " overflows, and in that diſcharge finds its beſt relief. It was " now time to act with fortitude. Julius Cæſar *(b)* loſt an only " daughter; Auguſtus ſaw his grandſons prematurely ſnatched " away; but their grief was inward only. They bore the " ſtroke of affliction with ſilent dignity. If the authority of an- " cient times were requiſite, conjunctures might be mentioned, " in which the Roman people ſaw, with unſhaken conſtancy, the " loſs of their generals, the overthrow of their armies, and the " deſtruction of the nobleſt families. Whatever may be the fate " of noble families, the commonwealth is immortal. Let all re- " ſume their former occupations; and, ſince the *(c)* Megalenſian

" games

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"games were near at hand, let the diverſions of the ſeaſon aſſuage "the general ſorrow."

VII. THE vacation from public buſineſs was now concluded. The people returned to their ordinary functions, and Druſus ſet out for the army in Illyricum. At Rome, in the mean time, all were impatient to ſee Piſo brought to juſtice. That an offender of ſuch magnitude ſhould be ſuffered to roam at large through the delightful regions of Aſia and Achaia, rouſed the general indignation. By ſuch contumacy the law was eluded, and the evidence was growing weaker every day. The fact was, Martina, that notorious dealer in poiſon, whom Sentius, as has been mentioned, ordered to be conveyed to Rome, died ſuddenly at Brunduſium. Poiſon was ſaid to have been found in the tangles of her hair, but no trace of ſuicide appeared on any part of her body.

VIII. PISO, taking his meaſures in time, ſent his ſon to Rome with inſtructions to prepoſſeſs the emperor in his favour. He went himſelf to ſeek an interview with Druſus; perſuaded that he ſhould find the prince not ſo much exaſperated at the loſs of a brother, as pleaſed with an event that delivered him from a rival. The ſon arrived at Rome. Tiberius, to ſhew that nothing was prejudged, gave the youth a gracious reception; adding the preſents uſually beſtowed on perſons of rank on their return from the provinces. Druſus ſaw the elder Piſo, and frankly told him, that if what was rumoured abroad appeared to be founded in truth, the charge demanded his keeneſt reſentment; but he rather hoped to find the whole unſupported by proof, that no man might deſerve to ſuffer for the death of Germanicus. This anſwer was given in public; no private audience was admitted. The prince, it was generally believed, had his leſſon from Tiberius; it being improbable that a young man of a free

a free and open diſpoſition, unhackneyed in the ways of buſineſs, could not have acted with that guarded reſerve which marked the veteran in politics.

IX. PISO croſſed the gulf of Dalmatia *(a)*, and, leaving his ſhips at Ancona, went forward to Picenum. From that place he purſued his journey on the Flamminian road, and on his way met a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome, in order to proceed from thence to ſerve in Africa. This incident was variouſly canvaſſed by the people. A criminal, it was ſaid, preſumes to join the ſoldiers on their march, and even waylays them at their quarters, to curry favour with his military friends. Piſo heard of theſe complaints, and, to avoid ſuſpicion, or becauſe it is the nature of guilt to be always wavering and irreſolute, at Narni he embarked on the Nar, and, ſailing down the Tiber, landed on the Field of Mars, near the tomb of the Cæſars. This was another cauſe of popular diſcontent: in open day, amidſt a crowd of ſpectators, he and his wife Plancina made their appearance; the former ſurrounded by a tribe of clients, and the latter by a train of female attendants; all with an air of gaiety, bold, erect, and confident. Piſo's houſe overlooked the forum; preparations were made for a ſumptuous entertainment; the ſcene was adorned with ſplendid decorations; and, from the nature of the ſituation, nothing could remain a ſecret. The whole was expoſed to the public eye.

X. ON the following day Fulcinius Trio exhibited an accuſation before the conſuls. To this proceeding Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had attended Germanicus into Aſia, made ſtrong objections; alleging, that Trio had not ſo much as a colour to entitle him to the conduct of the proſecution. As to themſelves, they did not mean to ſtand forth as

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accuſers; but they had the laſt commands of Germanicus, and to the facts within their knowledge intended to appear as witneſſes. Trio waved his pretenſions, but ſtill claimed a right to proſecute for former miſdemeanors. That liberty was allowed. Application was made to the emperor, that the cauſe might be heard before himſelf. The requeſt was perfectly agreeable to the accuſed party, who was not to learn that the ſenate and the people were prejudiced againſt him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to reſiſt popular clamour; and, in conjunction with Livia, had acted an underhand part in the buſineſs. Beſides this, the truth, he thought, would be better inveſtigated before a ſingle judge, than in a mixed aſſembly, where intrigue and party violence too often prevailed. Tiberius, however, ſaw the importance of the cauſe, and felt the imputations *(a)* thrown out againſt himſelf. To avoid a ſituation ſo nice and difficult, he conſented to hear, in the preſence of a few ſelect friends, the heads of the charge, with the anſwers of the defendant; and then referred the whole to the conſideration of the ſenate.

XI. DURING theſe tranſactions, Drulus returned from Illyricum. For the captivity of Maroboduus, and the proſperous events of the preceding ſummer, an ovation had been decreed by the ſenate; but he choſe to poſtpone that honour, and entered the city as a private man. Piſo moved that Titus Arruntius, T. Vinicius, Aſinius Gallus, Æſerninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius, might be aſſigned as advocates to defend his cauſe. Under different pretexts they all excuſed themſelves; and in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piſo, and Livineius Regulus, were appointed. The whole city was big with expectation. It remained to be ſeen how far the friends of Germanicus would act with firmneſs; what reſources Piſo had left; and whether Tiberius would ſpeak his mind, or continue,

as

as uſual, dark and impenetrable. No juncture had ever occurred in which the people were ſo warmly intereſted; none, when in private diſcourſe men made ſuch bitter reflections; and none, when ſuſpicion harboured ſuch gloomy apprehenſions.

XII. At the next meeting of the ſenate, Tiberius, in a premeditated ſpeech, explained his ſentiments. "Piſo," he obſerved, "had been the friend and choſen lieutenant of Au-"guſtus; and was lately named, with the approbation of the "ſenate, to aſſiſt Germanicus in the adminiſtration of the eaſtern "provinces. Whether, in that ſtation, he had made it his bu-"ſineſs, by arrogance and a contentious ſpirit, to exaſperate the "prince; whether he rejoiced at his death; and, above all, "whether he was acceſſary to it; were queſtions that called for "a ſtrict, but fair enquiry. If he, who was only ſecond in "command, exceeded the limits of his commiſſion, regardleſs "of the duty which he owed to his ſuperior officer; if he "beheld the death of Germanicus, and the loſs which I have "ſuffered, with unnatural, with fell delight; from that moment "he becomes the object of my fixed averſion. I forbid him to "enter my palace; he is my own perſonal enemy. But the "emperor muſt not revenge the private quarrels of Tiberius. "Should murder be brought home to him, a crime of that "magnitude, which in the caſe of the meaneſt citizen calls aloud "for vengeance, is not to be forgiven: it will be yours, conſcript "fathers, to adminiſter conſolation to the children of Germa-"nicus; it will be yours to aſſuage the ſorrows of an afflicted "father, and a grandmother overwhelmed with grief.

"In the courſe of the enquiry, it will be material to know whe-"ther Piſo endeavoured, with a ſeditious ſpirit, to incite the army "to a revolt. Did he try by ſiniſter arts to ſeduce the affections

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"of the ſoldiers? Was his ſword drawn to recover poſſeſſion "of the province? Are theſe things true, or are they the mere "ſuggeſtions of the proſecutors, with intent to aggravate the "charge? Their zeal, it muſt be owned, has been intemperate. "By laying the body naked at Antioch, and expoſing it to "public view, what good end could be anſwered? Why were "foreign nations alarmed with a report of poiſon, when the "fact is ſtill problematical, and remains to be tried? I lament "the loſs of my ſon, and ſhall ever lament it: but, notwithſtand- "ing all my feelings, it is competent to the defendant to repel "the charge; he is at liberty to bring forward whatever may "tend to eſtabliſh his innocence, and even to arraign the con- "duct of Germanicus, if any blame can be imputed to him. "It is not for me to abridge any part of the defence. My "affections, it is true, are interwoven with the cauſe: but you "will not, for that reaſon, take imputations for guilt, nor alle- "gations for concluſive proof. And ſince either the ties of con- "ſanguinity, or motives of friendſhip, have engaged able advo- "cates to patronize the party accuſed, let them exert their zeal, "their talents, and their eloquence. In the ſame manner I "exhort the proſecutors: let them act with the ſame conſtancy, "with equal ardour. The only diſtinction which the prero- "gative of the prince can grant, is, that the cauſe ſhall be tried "in this court, and not in the forum; in the preſence of the "ſenate, not before the common tribunals. In all things elſe "let the forms of law be obſerved. The tears of Druſus, and "my own affliction, are foreign to the queſtion: let no man regard "our intereſt; throw it out of the caſe, and diſcard from your "minds the little calumnies that may glance at myſelf."

XIII. Two days were allowed to the proſecutors to ſupport their charge, ſix to prepare the defence, and three for hearing

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it. Fulcinius Trio began. The ground he took was the avarice and tyranny, with which Piſo conducted himſelf, during his adminiſtration in Spain. This was ſtarting from a period too remote. Though convicted on that point, the defendant might ſtill repel the preſent charge; and, if acquitted, he might be guilty of higher crimes. Fulcinius was followed by Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius; all three exerting themſelves with equal zeal, but the latter with ſuperior eloquence. The points inſiſted upon were—"That Piſo, incited by malice to Germanicus, "and his own ambitious views, diffuſed a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs "through the Roman army. He corrupted the ſoldiery, and "ſuffered the allies of Rome to be plundered with impunity. "In conſequence of thoſe pernicious practices, the vile and "profligate hailed him FATHER OF THE LEGIONS. But his "conduct was hoſtile to all good men, and more directly to "the friends of Germanicus. To fill the meaſure of his iniquity, "he had recourſe to magic arts, and the prince was deſtroyed "by poiſon. Piſo and his wife Plancina were known to have "aſſiſted in ſuperſtitious rites and impious ſacrifices. And yet "the priſoner did not ſtop there: he was guilty of rebellion; "he appeared in arms againſt the ſtate; and, before he could "be brought to juſtice as a citizen, he was conquered as an "enemy."

XIV. THE defence in every article, except that which related to the crime of poiſon, was weak and ineffectual. The charge of debauching the ſoldiers by bribery, the rapacity of his creatures, and the inſults offered to Germanicus, were ſtubborn facts, and could not be denied. The crime of poiſoning ſeemed to be ſufficiently anſwered. It was left on weak ground by the managers of the proſecution. All they had to urge in ſupport of

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of that article, was a bare allegation, that Piſo, at an entertainment given by Germanicus, being placed on a couch above the prince, had contrived with his own hands to mingle poiſon with the victuals. An attempt of the kind, in the midſt of ſervants not his own, under the eye of numbers, and in the very preſence of Germanicus, ſeemed improbable, and indeed abſurd. Tō refute it altogether, Piſo made a tender of his ſlaves to be queſtioned on the rack, demanding, at the ſame time, that the domeſtics of Germanicus, who waited that day at table, ſhould undergo the like examination. But nothing made an impreſſion on the judges. For different reaſons they were all implacable; Tiberius, on account of the war levied in Syria; the ſenators, from a full perſuaſion that treachery had a hand in the death of Germanicus. A motion was made for the production of all letters written to the criminal by Tiberius and Livia. This was oppoſed with vehemence, not only by Piſo, but alſo by the emperor. The clamours of the populace, who ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, were heard within doors. The cry was, if Piſo eſcaped by the judgment of the fathers, he ſhould die by the hands of the people. They had already ſeized his ſtatues, and, in their fury, dragged them to the place of execution called the Gemoniæ *(a)*, with intent to break them into fragments. By order of Tiberius they were reſcued out of their hands. Piſo was conveyed home in a litter, guarded by a tribune of the prætorian bands: but whether that officer was ſent to protect him from the populace, or to ſee juſtice executed, was left to conjecture and vague report.

XV. PLANCINA, no leſs than her huſband, was an object of public deteſtation; but protected by court favour, ſhe was thought to be out of the reach of her enemies. What Tiberius

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would do was uncertain. While ſhe ſuppoſed herſelf involved in the fate of Piſo, without a gleam of better hope, her language was that of a woman willing to ſhare all chances with her huſband, and, if he was doomed to fall, determined to periſh with him. Having, in the mean time, by the intereſt of Livia, obtained her pardon, ſhe began to change her tone, and purſue a ſeparate intereſt. Finding himſelf thus abandoned, Piſo deſpaired of his cauſe. Without further ſtruggle, he intended to reſign himſelf to his fate; but, by the advice of his ſons, he reſumed his courage, and once more appeared before the ſenate. The proſecution was renewed with vigour; the fathers ſpoke in terms of acrimony; every thing was adverſe; and the priſoner plainly ſaw that his fate was decided. In this diſtreſs nothing affected him ſo deeply as the behaviour of Tiberius, who ſat in ſullen ſilence, neither provoked to anger, nor ſoftened by compaſſion, with his uſual art ſtifling every emotion of the heart. Piſo was conducted back to his houſe. He there wrote a few lines, in appearance preparing his defence for the enſuing day, and having ſealed the paper, delivered it to one of his freedmen. The uſual attentions to his perſon filled up his time, till, at a late hour of the night, his wife having left the room, he ordered the door to be made faſt. In the morning he was found dead; his throat cut, and his ſword lying near him on the ground.

XVI. I REMEMBER to have heard from men advanced in years, that a bundle of papers, not produced at the trial, was often ſeen in the hands of Piſo, containing, as his friends atteſted, the letters of Tiberius, full of inſtructions hoſtile to Germanicus. Theſe documents would have transferred the guilt to the emperor; but, by the deluſive promiſes of Sejanus, they were all ſuppreſſed. It was alſo confidently ſaid that Piſo did not lay violent hands on himſelf,

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himſelf, but died by the ſtroke of an aſſaſſin. For the truth of theſe aſſertions I do not mean to be anſwerable; I ſtate the facts as I heard them related by men with whom I converſed in my youth; and the anecdotes of ſuch men may be deemed worthy of attention.

Tiberius attended the next meeting of the ſenate. He there complained, with ſeeming anxiety, that the death of Piſo was intended to reflect diſhonour on himſelf. He ſent for the freedman, who had received the paper ſealed up, as already ſtated, and enquired particularly about his maſter; how he paſſed the laſt of his days? and what happened in the courſe of the night? The man anſwered in ſome inſtances with caution, and in others off his guard. The emperor produced Piſo's letter, and read it to the ſenate. It was nearly in the following words: "Oppreſſed by the malice of my enemies, and falling "under a load of imputed guilt, without a friend to eſpouſe the "truth, or ſhelter innocence, I call the immortal gods to witneſs, "that to you, Cæſar, I have, through life, preſerved my faith "inviolate. For your mother I have ever felt the ſincereſt "veneration. I conjure you both to take my ſons under your "protection. Cneius Piſo is innocent. Nothing that happened "in Aſia can be imputed to him, ſince he remained, during "the whole time, at Rome. His brother Marcus, when I re-"turned to the province of Syria, was ſtrenuous againſt the "meaſure. Would to Heaven that I had yielded to the advice "of a young man, and that my authority had not ſilenced "all oppoſition. For him I offer up my fervent prayers: let "not the errors of the father bring down ruin on the ſon. "If in the courſe of five-and-forty years I have been devoted "to your ſervice; if Auguſtus made me his colleague in the "con-

" conſulſhip *(a)*; if the remembrance of our early friendſhip " can now avail: by all thoſe ties I implore your mercy for my " unhappy ſon. It is the requeſt of a dying father; the laſt I " ſhall ever make." He made no mention of Plancina.

XVII. TIBERIUS declared his opinion, that Marcus Piſo, being under the controul of his father *(a)*, ought not to be anſwerable for the civil war. He mentioned the regard due to an illuſtrious houſe, and even lamented the unhappy lot of the deceaſed, though brought upon him by miſconduct. He ſpoke in favour of Plancina, but with an air of embarraſſment, conſcious of his own duplicity. The interceſſion of his mother was a colour for the part he acted; but thinking men were by no means ſatisfied. On the contrary, their hatred of Livia was more embittered than ever. They exclaimed without reſerve, " Shall the grandmother admit to her preſence a woman ſtained " with the blood of her grandſon? Shall ſhe converſe in familiar " freedom with a murdereſs? Muſt ſhe receive to her arms an " abandoned woman, and by her influence reſcue her from the " vengeance of the ſenate? The laws protect the meaneſt citizen; " but in the caſe of Germanicus they have loſt their vigour. " Vitellius and Veranius poured forth their eloquence in the " cauſe of a prince cut off by treachery, while the emperor and " his mother ſide with Plancina. That pernicious woman may " now with impunity continue her trade of poiſoning; ſhe may " practiſe her deteſtable arts on the life of Agrippina and her " children; ſhe may proceed in her iniquity, and, with the blood " of an illuſtrious, but unhappy family, glut the rage of a " diſſembling uncle and a worthleſs grandmother." For two days together Rome was amuſed with a mock-trial of Plancina. Tiberius, in the mean time, exhorted Piſo's ſons to ſtand forth in

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defence of their mother. The charge was opened; the witneſſes were examined, and the orators ſpared neither zeal nor eloquence in ſupport of the proſecution: no reply was made; the wretched condition of a helpleſs woman began to operate on the feelings of the fathers, and prejudice was melted into pity. Aurelius Cotta, the conſul, was the firſt that gave his vote, according to a ſettled rule *(b)*, whenever the queſtion was put by the emperor. The opinion of Cotta was, that the name of Piſo ſhould be razed out of the public regiſters; that part of his eſtate ſhould be confiſcated, and the reſt granted to Cneius Piſo, upon condition that he changed the family name; and that his brother Marcus, diveſted of all civil honours, ſhould be condemned to baniſhment for the ſpace of ten years, with a ſum, however, of fifty thouſand great ſeſterces for his ſupport. In deference to the ſolicitations of Livia, it was propoſed to grant a free pardon to Plancina.

XVIII. THIS ſentence, in many particulars, was mitigated by Tiberius. The family name, he ſaid, ought not to be aboliſhed, while that of Mark Anthony, who appeared in arms againſt his country, as well as that of Julius Antonius *(a)*, who by his intrigues diſhonoured the houſe of Auguſtus, ſubſiſted ſtill, and figured in the Roman annals. Marcus Piſo was left in poſſeſſion of his civil dignities and his father's fortune. Avarice, as has been already obſerved, was not the paſſion of Tiberius. On this occaſion, the diſgrace incurred by the partiality ſhewn to Plancina, ſoftened his temper, and made him the more willing to extend his mercy to the ſon. Valerius Meſſalinus moved, that a golden ſtatue might be erected in the temple of Mars the avenger. An altar to vengeance was propoſed by Cæcina Severus. Both theſe motions were over-ruled by the emperor.

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The principle on which he argued was, that public monuments, however proper in caſes of foreign conqueſt, were not ſuited to the preſent juncture. Domeſtic calamity ſhould be lamented, and as ſoon as poſſible conſigned to oblivion.

Meſſalinus added to his motion a vote of thanks to Tiberius and Livia, to Antonia, Agrippina, and Druſus, for their zeal in bringing to juſtice the enemies of Germanicus. The name of Claudius *(b)* was not mentioned. Lucius Aſprenas deſired to know whether that omiſſion was intended. The conſequence was, that Claudius was inſerted in the vote. Upon an occaſion like this, it is impoſſible not to pauſe for a moment, to make a reflection that naturally riſes out of the ſubject. When we review what has been doing in the world, is it not evident, that in all tranſactions, whether of ancient or of modern date, ſome ſtrange caprice of fortune turns all human wiſdom to a jeſt? In the juncture before us, Claudius figured ſo little on the ſtage of public buſineſs, that there was ſcarce a man in Rome, who did not ſeem, by the voice of fame and the wiſhes of the people, deſigned for the ſovereign power, rather than the very perſon, whom fate, in that inſtant, cheriſhed in obſcurity, to make him, at a future period, maſter of the Roman world.

XIX. THE ſenate, a few days afterwards, on the motion of Tiberius, granted the ſacerdotal dignity to Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus. Fulcinius Trio received a promiſe of the emperor's favour in his road to honours, but was at the ſame time admoniſhed to reſtrain the ardour of his genius, leſt, by overheated vehemence, he might mar his eloquence. In this manner ended the enquiry concerning the death of Germanicus; a ſubject which has been variouſly repreſented, not only by men of

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that day, but by all ſubſequent writers. It remains, to this hour, the problem of hiſtory. A cloud for ever hangs over the moſt important tranſactions, while, on the one hand, credulity adopts for fact the report of the day; and, on the other, politicians warp and diſguiſe the truth: between both parties two different accounts go down from age to age, and gain ſtrength with poſterity.

Druſus thought it time to enjoy the honours of a public entry. For this purpoſe he went out of the city, and, having aſſiſted at the ceremony of the auſpices, returned with the ſplendour of an *ovation*. In a few days after he loſt his mother Vipſania *(a)* of all the children of Agrippa, the only one that died a natural death. The reſt were brought to a tragic end; ſome, as is well known, by the murderer's ſtroke; and others, as is generally believed, by poiſon or by famine.

XX. In the ſame year Tacfarinas, the Numidian chief, whom we have ſeen defeated by Camillus in a former campaign, once more commenced hoſtilities in Africa. He began by ſudden incurſions; depending for his ſafety on the rapidity of his flight. Emboldened by ſucceſs, he attacked ſeveral towns and villages, and went off enriched with plunder. At length, at a place near the river Pagida *(a)*, he hemmed in a Roman cohort, and held them cloſely beſieged. Decrius, a gallant and experienced officer, who commanded the fort, conſidered the blockade as a diſgrace to the Roman arms. Having exhorted his men to face the enemy on the open plain, he marched out and formed in order of battle. At the firſt onſet the Barbarians made an impreſſion. The cohort gave way. Decrius braved every danger. Amidſt a volley of darts, he oppoſed his perſon to

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to ſtop the flight of his men; he called aloud to the ſtandard-bearers, charging them not to incur the ſhame and infamy of yielding to an undiſciplined rabble, a vile collection of runaways and deſerters. His efforts were ineffectual. Covered with wounds, and one eye pierced through, he ſtill perſiſted with undaunted valour, till at laſt, abandoned by his troops, he died bravely ſword in hand.

XXI. LUCIUS APRONIUS, who had ſucceeded Camillus as proconſul of Africa, received the account of this defeat with indignation. The diſgrace of the Roman arms touched him more than the glory that accrued to the Barbarians. He reſolved to expiate the infamy by a dreadful puniſhment, founded, indeed, upon ancient precedent, and recorded in hiſtory; but in modern times fallen into diſuſe. He ordered the cohort, whoſe behaviour had been ſo ignominious, to be decimated *(a)*: every man upon whom the lot fell, died under repeated blows of the cudgel. The conſequence of this ſeverity was, that a body of five hundred veterans, ſtationed in garriſon at Thala *(b)*, maintained their poſt againſt the attempts of Tacfarinas, and even routed the troops lately fluſhed with victory. In this action Rufus Helvius, a common ſoldier, obtained the glory of ſaving the life of a Roman citizen. He was rewarded by Apronius with a ſpear and collar. Tiberius ordered the civic crown to be added, obſerving, at the ſame time, that the proconſul had the power of granting that reward: yet he cenſured the omiſſion without aſperity, pleaſed that ſomething was reſerved for himſelf.

Tacfarinas, finding his Numidians unwilling, after their defeat, to undertake a ſiege, changed his plan of operations. He choſe a roving kind of war; if the Romans advanced, quick in retreat,

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treat, and, as ſoon as the purſuit was over, wheeling round to hang upon the rear. By this deſultory mode of ſkirmiſhing, the wily African baffled and fatigued the Roman army, till having ravaged the country near the ſea-coaſt, and loaded his men with booty, he was obliged to pitch his camp. In that ſituation Apronius Cæſianus, ſon of the proconſul, at the head of the cavalry, the auxiliary cohorts, and a body of light infantry draughted from the legions, gave battle to the Numidian, and, having gained a complete victory, obliged him to fly to his wilds and deſerts.

XXII. At Rome, in the mean time, a proſecution was carried on againſt Lepida *(a)*, a woman of illuſtrious birth, deſcended from the Æmilian family, and great grand-daughter both to Sylla and Pompey. She was married to Publius Quirinius, a citizen of great wealth, far advanced in years, but without children to inherit his eſtate. The wife was charged with an attempt to paſs a ſuppoſititious child for his legitimate iſſue. Other articles were added; ſuch as adultery, dealing in poiſon, and conſultations with Chaldean aſtrologers concerning the fate of the imperial family. Her brother, Manius Lepidus, undertook her defence. Quirinius had repudiated her; and yet, after his divorce, attacked her with implacable reſentment. This circumſtance, notwithſtanding the guilt and infamy of Lepida, rendered her an object of compaſſion. In the courſe of the proceeding, the real ſentiments of Tiberius eluded all diſcovery. Fluctuating between oppoſite paſſions, he mixed and ſhifted mercy and reſentment in ſuch quick ſucceſſion, that where he would fix it was impoſſible to gueſs. He deſired that the crime of violated majeſty might be thrown out of the caſe, and, in a ſhort time after, ordered Marcus Servilius, of conſular rank, and the reſt of the witneſſes, to prove the very facts over which he pretended to draw a veil. He removed the ſlaves of Lepida, who had been placed under a military guard,

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to the cuſtody *(b)* of the conſuls; nor would he ſuffer them to be examined under the torture upon any point that concerned himſelf or his family. He exempted Druſus, though conſul elect; from the rule, that required him to give the firſt vote. This by ſome was conſidered as a true republican principle, that the fathers might give their voices, free and uninfluenced by the example of the prince. Others called it a ſtroke of ſubtle cruelty; it being by no means probable, that Druſus would decline to ſpeak in order of time, if a ſentence of condemnation had not been already fixed.

XXIII. THE celebration of the public games ſuſpended the trial for ſome days. In that interval, Lepida, accompanied by a train of illuſtrious women, entered the theatre *(a)*: in a pathetic ſtrain ſhe invoked her anceſtors; ſhe called on Pompey in his own theatre (that monument of grandeur), and addreſſed herſelf to the images of that illuſtrious man. Her grief made an impreſſion; tears guſhed from the eyes of the people, and, indignation ſoon ſucceeding, bitter execrations were thrown out againſt Quirinius; "a ſuperannuated dotard, ſprung from a mean extraction, to whom, in the decline of life, a noble dame, formerly intended to be the wife of Lucius Cæſar, and, by conſequence, the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, was joined in wedlock, that he, good man! might raiſe heirs to his eſtate." Notwithſtanding theſe clamours, the ſlaves of Lepida were put to the queſtion. Their evidence amounted to full proof of her guilt; and, on the motion of Rubellius Blandus, ſhe was forbid the uſe of fire and water. Even Druſus gave his aſſent, though a milder ſentence would have been agreeable to the wiſhes of a conſiderable number. By the intereſt of Scaurus, her former huſband, who had a daughter by her, the confiſcation of her property was remitted. At the cloſe of the proceedings, Tiberius informed the fathers, that he

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he had examined the ſlaves of Quirinius, and their evidence left him no room to doubt of a formed deſign to poiſon her huſband.

XXIV. THE families of the firſt conſequence at Rome began to feel, with regret, that their numbers were thinned by repeated misfortunes. The Calpurnian houſe had lately ſuffered by the loſs of Piſo, and the Æmilian was impaired by the condemnation of Lepida. In order to make ſome amends, Decius Silanus was reſtored to the Junian family. The particulars of his caſe ſeem to merit ſome attention. The life of Auguſtus was variouſly checquered: he was ſucceſsful againſt his country, and in his family often unhappy. The intrigues of his daughter *(a)* and grand-daughter embittered his days. He ordered them both to depart from Rome, and puniſhed the *(b)* adulterers with death or baniſhment. To the commerce natural between the ſexes, that emperor gave the name of ſacrilege and violated majeſty; and, under colour of this new device, forgot at once the lenity of former times, and even the laws enacted by himſelf. But the tragic iſſue that befel offenders of this kind, with other memorable events of that period, ſhall be the ſubject of a diſtinct hiſtory, if, when the work now in hand is finiſhed, my life ſhall be protracted in health and vigour for a new undertaking.

With regard to Silanus, who had a criminal connection with the grand-daughter of Auguſtus; his offence drew upon him no greater vengeance, than a total excluſion from the friendſhip of the emperor. That excluſion, as Silanus underſtood it, implied a ſentence of baniſhment. He retired into voluntary exile, and never, till the reign of Tiberius, preſumed to apply, either to the prince or ſenate, for permiſſion to return to his country. For the favour extended to him, he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Marcus Silanus, who added to his high rank

the fame of diſtinguiſhed eloquence. Marcus prevailed with the emperor, and, in a full meeting of the ſenate, expreſſed his ſenſe of the obligation. Tiberius anſwered, that "the return of Decius "Silanus, after a long abſence, was an event agreeable to all. It "was, however, no more than his legal right. No law had "abridged his liberty; no decree of the ſenate was in force againſt "him. And, yet, it was impoſſible for the prince to forget the "wrongs done to Auguſtus; nor could the return of Silanus either "efface his crime, or cancel what had been ſettled by an injured "emperor." From this time, Decius Silanus lived at Rome, a private citizen, without honours, or preferment.

XXV. THE next care of the ſenate was to ſoften the rigour of the law Papia Poppæa *(a)*; a law made by Auguſtus in the decline of life, when the *(b)* Julian inſtitutions were found ineffectual. The policy was, to enforce, by additional ſanctions, the penalties of celibacy, and thereby increaſe the revenue. Marriage, however, was not brought into faſhion. To be without heirs *(c)* was ſtill conſidered as a ſtate that gave great advantages. Proſecutions multiplied, and numbers were every day drawn into danger. Informers were the interpreters of juſtice; and chicane and malice wrought the ruin of families. The community laboured, at firſt, under the vices of the times, and, afterwards, under the ſnares of law. From this reflection if we here go back to trace the origin of civil inſtitutions, and the progreſs of that complex ſyſtem which has grown up to haraſs mankind, the digreſſion will not be incurious, nor altogether foreign to our purpoſe.

XXVI. IN the early ages of the world *(a)*, men led a life of innocence and ſimplicity. Free from irregular paſſions, they knew no corruption of manners; and void of guilt, they had no need of laws. In the natural emotions of the heart they found

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incitements to virtue, and rewards were unneceſſary. Having no inordinate deſires, they coveted nothing, and pains and penalties were unknown. In proceſs of time, when all equality was overturned, and, in the place of temperance and moderation, ambition and violence began to trample on the rights of man; then monarchy was eſtabliſhed, in ſeveral nations unlimited, abſolute, and flouriſhing at this hour. Some ſtates indeed, in their firſt formation, or, at leaſt, ſoon after they had made an experiment of kings, preferred a government by law; and law, in its origin, was, like the manners of the age, plain and ſimple. Of the ſeveral political conſtitutions known in the world, that of Crete, eſtabliſhed by Minos; that of Sparta, by Lycurgus; and that of Athens, by Solon, have been chiefly celebrated. In the latter, however, we ſee ſimplicity giving way to complication and refinement. At Rome, the reign of Romulus was the reign of deſpotiſm. His will was the law. Numa Pompilius introduced the rites and ceremonies of religion, and, by eſtabliſhing forms of worſhip, ſtrengthened the civil union. Some improvements were added by Tullus Hoſtilius, and ſome by Ancus Martius. But the true legiſlator was Servius Tullius; the author of that beſt policy, which made even kings the ſubjects of the laws.

XXVII. AFTER the expulſion of Tarquin, the people, to ſecure their rights from powerful factions in the ſenate, and to prevent the effects of civil diſcord, were obliged to modify the conſtitution by new regulations. With this view, the decemvirs were created. Thoſe magiſtrates, by adopting from the wiſdom of other nations what appeared worthy of ſelection, framed a body of laws, entitled the Twelve Tables. All ſound legiſlation ended there. It is true that, after that time, new ſtatutes were enacted; but, if we except a few, ſuggeſted by the vices of the times, and paſſed on the ſpur of the occaſion, they were, for the

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moſt part, made in the conflict of parties, and for the worſt of purpoſes; in ſome inſtances, to lay open to ambition the road to honours; in others, to work the downfal of illuſtrious citizens; and, in general, with pernicious motives. Hence the Gracchi *(a)*, and the Saturnini, thoſe turbulent demagogues; and hence the violent ſpirit of Druſus *(b)*, that famous partiſan of the ſenate, who, by largeſſes and open bribery, ſupported the claims of the nobility, and by ſpecious promiſes induced the allies of Rome to eſpouſe his cauſe, deceiving them at firſt, and, between the ſenate and the popular leaders, making them, in the end, the bubble of contending factions. Hence a wild variety of contradictory laws. In the ſocial war *(c)*, which involved all Italy, and the civil commotions that followed, new ordinances were eſtabliſhed, but with the ſame contentious ſpirit, till at length Lucius Sylla *(d)*, the dictator, by repealing ſeveral laws, by amending others, and by organizing a code of his own, gave a check to the rage of legiſlation. But the reſpite was but ſhort. The fiery genius of Lepidus *(e)* preferred a number of ſeditious decrees, and the tribunes *(f)* of the people, reſuming their ancient powers, alarmed the ſtate with tumult and popular commotions. The general good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared in the great ſcene of public buſineſs, and new ſtatutes were enacted. In a corrupt republic vice increaſed, and laws were multiplied.

XXVIII. POMPEY at length *(a)*, in his third conſulſhip, was choſen to correct abuſes, and introduce a reformation of manners. His remedies were more pernicious than the miſchief. He made laws, and broke them; he had recourſe to arms, and by force of arms was ruined. From that time, during a period of twenty years, the rage of civil diſcord threw every thing into confuſion. Juſtice was ſilent; the manners were corrupted; vice triumphed with impunity, and virtue met with ſure deſtruction. At length,

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Auguſtus *(b)* in his ſixth conſulſhip, finding himſelf eſtabliſhed without a rival, repealed the acts paſſed by himſelf during the triumvirate, and gave a new ſyſtem, uſeful indeed to the public tranquillity, but ſubverſive of the conſtitution; fit only for the government of one. The chains of ſlavery were cloſely riveted *(c)*, and ſpies of ſtate were appointed. To excite and animate the diligence of thoſe new officers, the law Papia Poppæa held forth rewards. By that law, the people, under the fiction of univerſal parent, were declared heirs to the vacant poſſeſſions of ſuch as lived in celibacy, regardleſs of the privileges annexed to the paternal character. To enforce this regulation, informers were encouraged. The genius of thoſe men knew no bounds: they haraſſed the city of Rome, and ſtretched their harpy-hands all over Italy. Wherever they found a citizen, they found a man to be plundered. Numbers were ruined, and all were ſtruck with terror. To ſtop the progreſs of the miſchief, Tiberius ordered a ſet of commiſſioners, to be drawn by lot; five of conſular rank; five prætorians, and a like number from the body of the ſenate. Under their direction, the law was explained; enſnaring ſubtleties were removed; and the evil, though not wholly cured, was palliated for the preſent.

XXIX. About this time Nero, the eldeſt ſon of Germanicus, was entering on the ſtate of manhood. Tiberius recommended him to the favour of the ſenate, adding his requeſt, that the young prince might be excuſed from ſerving the office of the vigentivirate *(a)*, with leave, five years earlier than the time limited by law, to ſtand candidate for the quæſtorſhip. As a precedent for this indulgence he cited the example of Auguſtus, who had made the like application for himſelf and his brother Druſus. The propoſal was a mockery, and, accordingly, men heard it with deriſion. Even in the reign of Auguſtus there were, in all probability,

bability, numbers who laughed, in ſecret, at the new way of commanding by petition. The artifice, however, was at that time not impolitic: the grandeur of the Cæſars was in its infancy, and the forms of the old republic were ſtill remembered. With regard to the requeſt made by Tiberius, it may be obſerved, that the relation between the ſtep-father and the ſons of his wife did not create ſo tender an intereſt, as the natural affection of a grandfather for his grandſon. The ſenate not only granted what was aſked, but added a ſeat in the pontifical college. The day, on which the young prince made his firſt appearance in the forum, was diſtinguiſhed by a largeſs to the people, who ſaw with pleaſure a ſon of Germanicus riſing to the ſtate of manhood. His marriage with Julia *(b)*, the daughter of Druſus, was ſoon after celebrated, and diffuſed a general ſatisfaction. But another match, then in contemplation, between the ſon *(c)* of Claudius and a daughter of Sejanus, was received by the people with every mark of diſcontent. Men objected, that the luſtre of the imperial family would be tarniſhed, and the ambition of Sejanus, already ſuſpected, would, when ſtrengthened by that connection, tower above the rank of a citizen.

XXX. TOWARDS the cloſe of the year died two men of diſtinguiſhed character, namely, Lucius Voluſius, and Salluſtius Criſpus. The former was of an ancient family, at all times highly honoured, though never raiſed above the prætorian rank. The deceaſed was the firſt of his houſe that roſe to the conſulſhip. When it was afterwards neceſſary to regulate the claſſes of the equeſtrian order, he was, for that purpoſe, advanced to the dignity of cenſor. In the courſe of his time he accumulated an immoderate fortune, and laid the foundation of that rank and ſplendor, in which his family flouriſhed after him.

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The anceſtors of Criſpus were of equeſtrian rank *(a)*. By the maternal line, he was grand nephew to Caius Salluſtius, the accompliſhed Roman hiſtorian. Being adopted by that illuſtrious writer, he aſſumed the family name; and, though the road to honours lay open before him, the example of Mæcenas was the model, on which he formed his conduct. Never aſpiring to the rank of ſenator, he lived in a degree of ſplendor, that eclipſed the conſular magiſtrates, and even the commanders of armies, who had triumphed for their victories. The auſterity of ancient manners was not to his taſte. In his apparel and equipage he was gay and coſtly; in his ſtyle of living, fond of elegance, and even of luxury. Uniting in his character oppoſite qualities, he was at once a man of pleaſure, and a ſtateſman of conſummate ability. The vigour of his mind, though often relaxed in indolence, was ſuch as qualified him for the moſt arduous affairs. When occaſion called, he returned to buſineſs with an elaſtic ſpring, that ſhewed he gained new ſtrength from inactivity. While Mæcenas lived and flouriſhed, Criſpus acted the ſecond character. Succeeding afterwards to that miniſter, he took the lead in the cabinet, the firſt in favour, and in all ſecret tranſactions the confidential manager. Agrippa Poſthumus was cut off under his direction. In the decline of life he retained the appearance of power, without the reality; a reverſe of fortune, which had been felt by Mæcenas, and which, by ſome fatality, is the uſual end of all who baſk in the ſunſhine of a court. Between the prince and his favourite, wearineſs and ſatiety ſucceed to the ardour of affection, and both begin to wean themſelves from each other; the prince, when the power of giving is exhauſted; and the miniſter, when avarice has no more to crave.

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XXXI. The year, which we are now to open, ſtands diſtinguiſhed by the joint conſulſhip of the father and the ſon; Tiberius,

rius, for the fourth time, and Druſus, the ſecond. It is true that, two years before, Germanicus ſhared the ſame honour; but their union was not founded in ſincerity and mutual eſteem. Throughout that year Tiberius beheld his colleague with a malignant eye. The tie of affinity between them was not ſo cloſe as the preſent. Tiberius had ſcarce entered on the office in conjunction with Druſus, when, pretending to recruit his health, he removed into Campania, perhaps even then meditating that long retreat, which was afterwards his plan of life; perhaps, intending to give Druſus the honour of diſcharging the conſular functions, without the aſſiſtance of his father. An incident ſoon occurred, in itſelf of little moment, but by the heat of parties it kindled to a flame, and afforded to the young conſul an opportunity to gain the popular eſteem. A complaint was made to the ſenate by Domitius Corbulo, formerly one of the prætors, ſtating that Lucius Sylla, a youth of illuſtrious rank, had refuſed, in a late ſhew of gladiators, to give place to his ſuperior in point of years. The grave and elderly were on the ſide of Corbulo. They ſaw the rights of age infringed, and the example of ancient manners treated with contempt. Mamercus Scaurus and Lucius Arruntius undertook the defence of Sylla, and with the reſt of his relations formed a party in his favour. A warm debate enſued. The practice of good times was ſtated, and ſeveral decrees, enforcing the reverence due to age, were cited as deciſive authority. Druſus, by a qualifying ſpeech, allayed the ferment. Corbulo declared himſelf ſatisfied with the apology made by Mamercus Scaurus, who was uncle as well as father-in-law *(a)* to Sylla, and, beſides, the moſt eloquent orator of his time. That buſineſs being thus amicably ſettled, the ſtate of the public roads was made the ſubject of debate by the ſame Corbulo. The highways, he ſaid, were in a bad condition throughout Italy, neglected every where, and in ſome places impaſſable. He imputed the miſchief to the fraudulent practices

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of contractors, and the inattention of the magiſtrates. He was deſired to ſuperintend the buſineſs; but the advantage, whatever it was, that accrued to the public, did not counterbalance the ruin of individuals, who ſuffered, both in reputation and fortune, by the harſh deciſions of Corbulo, and the confiſcation of their effects.

XXXII. In a ſhort time after, the ſenate received diſpatches from Tiberius, with intelligence that Africa was again alarmed by the incurſions of Tacfarinas. The occaſion, the emperor ſaid, required a proconſul of military talents, and vigour equal to the fatigues of war; but the choice was left to the judgment of the fathers. Sextus Pompeius ſeized this opportunity to launch out in a bitter invective againſt Marcus Lepidus, whom he ſtyled, a man void of courage, deſtitute of fortune, a diſgrace to his anceſtors, and by no means fit to be entruſted with the government of Aſia *(a)*, which had then fallen to his lot. The ſenate was of a different opinion. What was called want of courage, according to them, was mildneſs of diſpoſition; his indigence was a misfortune, not a diſgrace; nor could it be deemed a fair objection to a man, who, in narrow circumſtances, ſupported the dignity of his anceſtors, and lived, in honourable poverty, with an unblemiſhed character. He was, therefore, declared proconſul of Aſia. The choice of a governor to command in Africa was, by a decree, reſerved for the deciſion of the emperor.

XXXIII. In the courſe of the debate, a motion was made by Cæcina Severus, that the governors of provinces ſhould be no longer accompanied by their wives. He prefaced the buſineſs with repeated declarations, that between him and his wife, who had brought him ſix children, the trueſt harmony ſubſiſted; and yet the law, which he now propoſed, had ever been the rule of his own

own conduct; inſomuch, that in a ſeries of forty years, during which time he had ſerved as many campaigns, his wife always remained in Italy. "It was with good reaſon," he ſaid, "that "in former times, women were neither allowed to viſit the allies "of Rome, nor to have any intercourſe with foreign nations. "The ſofter ſex brought many inconveniencies; in times of peace "they were prone to luxury, and in war, eaſily alarmed. A fe- "male train, in the march of a Roman army, preſented an image "of ſavage manners: it had the appearance of Barbarians going "to battle.

"That women are by nature feeble, and ſoon overcome by "hardſhip, was not the only objection: other qualities entered "into the female character, ſuch as pride, revenge, and cruelty, "and ambition. The love of power is the predominant paſſion "of the ſex, and in the exerciſe of it they know no bounds. "They appear in the ranks; they march with the troops; and "they entice the centurions to their party. We have ſeen, in a "late inſtance, a woman *(a)* reviewing the cohorts, and directing "the exerciſe of the legions. Have we forgot, that as often as "rapacity and extortion have been laid to the account of the huſ- "band, the wife has proved the principal offender? She no ſooner "enters the province, than her party is formed. The unprincipled "attend to pay their homage. She becomes a politician; ſhe "takes the lead in buſineſs, and gives a ſeparate audience. The "huſband and the wife appear in public with their diſtinct train "of attendants. Two *(b)* tribunals are eſtabliſhed, and the female "edict, dictated by caprice and tyranny, is ſure to be obeyed. By "the Oppian *(c)* and other laws, the wife was formerly reſtrained "within due bounds; at preſent, all decorum is laid aſide; wo- "men give the law in families; they preſide in the tribunals of "juſtice, and aſpire to be commanders in chief."

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XXXIV. To this ſpeech a ſmall number aſſented; the reſt received it with a murmur of diſapprobation. The buſineſs, they ſaid, was not in form before the fathers, and a queſtion of that importance ought not to be drawn into debate by a ſelf-created cenſor like Cæcina. His argument was anſwered by Valerius Meſſalinus; a man who derived from his father Meſſala *(a)*, the celebrated orator, no inconſiderable ſhare of eloquence. "The rigour," he ſaid, "of ancient manners has "taken a milder tone. The enemy is not at the gates of Rome, "and the provinces have no hoſtile intentions. In favour of "the tender ſex ſome conceſſions ought to be made, eſpecially "ſince it is now known by experience that the wife, ſo "far from being a burthen to the province, is ſcarcely felt in "the private œconomy of the huſband. She is no more "than a ſharer in his ſplendour and dignity. In time of peace "what danger from her preſence? War, indeed, calls for vigour; "and men ſhould go unencumbered to the field. When the "campaign is over, where can the general ſo well repoſe from "toil and labour as in the boſom of a wife, whoſe tenderneſs "relieves his pain, and ſweetens every care? But women, it "has been ſaid, are prone to avarice and ambition: what ſhall "be ſaid of the magiſtrates? Have they been always free from "irregular paſſions? and if not, will it follow that men are to "be no longer truſted with the adminiſtration of the provinces? "We are told, that the vices of the wife have their influence on "the manners of the huſband: and is it therefore true, that in "a life of celibacy we are ſure of finding unblemiſhed honour?

"The Oppian laws were formerly deemed expedient: the "policy of the times required them; but the manners have "varied ſince, and with the manners the law has been modified. "We ſtrive in vain, under borrowed terms, to hide our own "defects:

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" defects: the truth is, if the wife exceeds the bounds of the " female character, the blame falls on the huſband. In two or " three inſtances we may have ſeen that the men were weak and " too uxorious: and ſhall we for that reaſon take from the " commander of armies the moſt endearing comforts of mar- " riage, the mutual joy in proſperity, and, in affliction, the balm " that heals his ſorrows? By the reſtraint now propoſed, the " weaker ſex will be left in a ſtate of deſtitution, the ſport of " their own caprice, and a prey to the paſſions of the profligate " ſeducer. The preſence of the huſband is ſcarce ſufficient to " guard the ſanctity of the marriage-bed: what muſt be the " conſequence, if they are ſeparated, and, as it were, divorced " for a number of years? In that interval, the nuptial union may " be obliterated from the mind. Let us, if we can, prevent " diſorder in the provinces; but let us not forget the manners " of the capital."

In this debate Druſus delivered his ſentiments. He touched upon the ſubject of his own marriage, and added, that the princes of the imperial houſe were liable to the frequent neceſſity of viſiting diſtant provinces. How often did it happen that Auguſtus made a progreſs in the weſt, and in the eaſt, accompanied by Livia his wife! As to himſelf, he had commanded in Illyricum, and was ready, if the ſtate required it, to ſerve in any part of the empire; but he ſhould ſerve with regret, if he was to be torn from an affectionate wife *(b)*, the faithful mother of all his children. In conſequence of theſe reaſonings, Cæcina's motion fell to the ground.

XXXV. THE ſenate at their next meeting received letters from Tiberius, in which, after complaining obliquely that the burthen of all public buſineſs was thrown on himſelf, he named

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Manius Lepidus and Junius Blæſus for the proconſulſhip of Africa; leaving the choice of one of them to the determination of the fathers. Both were heard: Lepidus, with a degree of earneſtneſs, deſired to be excuſed; alleging the infirmities of his conſtitution, and the care due to his children, who, except a daughter then fit for the married ſtate, were all of tender years. Lepidus had ſtill a better reaſon, but he choſe to ſuppreſs it: it was, neverthelefs, well underſtood that Blæſus was uncle to Sejanus, and of courſe had the prevailing influence. Blæſus in his turn declined the office, but with affected coyneſs. Flattery knew on which ſide its intereſt lay; and, by conſequence, the ſlaves of power knew how to conquer ſuch feeble reluctance. Blæſus was of courſe appointed.

XXXVI. A PUBLIC grievance, which had long been felt with ſecret diſcontent, was ſoon after brought before the fathers. A licentious ſpirit of defamation prevailed at Rome, and reigned without control. The vile and profligate launched out with virulence againſt the beſt members of ſociety, and the ſtatues of the Cæſars were a ſanctuary, where the aſſaſſins of every honeſt name found protection. The freedmen, and even the ſlaves, poured out a torrent of abuſe; and, after lifting their hands againſt their patrons, or their maſters, reſorted to the ſame aſylum, where they grew more formidable in their inſolence. Caius Ceſtius, a member of the ſenate, complained of this enormity: "Princes," he ſaid, "repreſented the gods; but the gods lent "a favourable ear to none but the juſt. Neither the capitol "nor the temples were places of refuge, where guilt might find "a ſhelter, and even encouragement. In a late proſecution "Annia Rufilla was found guilty of manifeſt fraud; and "if ſuch a woman might with impunity, in the forum, and "even in the portal of the ſenate, inſult him with opprobrious "language,

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"language, and even with menaces; if ſuch contumacy were "permitted, and the emperor's ſtatue gave a ſanction to evil "practices, inſomuch that he could obtain no redreſs; all good "order was at an end, and the laws were no better than a "dead letter." Others ſpoke to the ſame effect. Facts ſtill more atrocious were ſtated, and, with one voice, the whole aſſembly called on Druſus for exemplary puniſhment. Rufilla was cited to appear; and, being convicted, the fathers ordered her to be impriſoned in the common jail.

XXXVII. CONFIDIUS ÆQUUS and Cælius Curſor, two Roman knights, who had preferred a falſe charge of violated majeſty againſt Magius Cæcilianus, then one of the prætors, were for that offence condemned, at the deſire of Tiberius. From this act of juſtice, as well as the ſentence againſt Rufilla, Druſus derived no ſmall ſhare of popularity. Men were willing to allow that, by reſiding at Rome, and by mixing in ſocial meetings, he made ſome atonement for the dark and ſullen ſpirit of his father. The luxurious paſſions of a young man were eaſily excuſed: Let him, ſaid the people, indulge his taſte for pleaſure; let him paſs his day in the glare of public ſpectacles, and his night in ſocial revelry, rather than live ſequeſtered from mankind, without a joy to cheer him, in painful vigils and the gloom of ſolitude brooding over his cares, and thinking only to engender miſchief.

XXXVIII. THE ruin of eminent citizens had not yet appeaſed the rage of Tiberius and his crew of informers. An accuſation was preferred by Ancharius Priſcus againſt Cæſius Cordus, proconſul of Crete, for peculation and violated majeſty. The laſt article was, at that time, the burthen of every proſecution *(a)*.

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Antiſtius Vetus, a man of the firſt conſequence in Macedonia *(b)*, had been accuſed of adultery, and acquitted. This gave umbrage to Tiberius. He cenſured the judges, and ordered Vetus to be tried on the uſual charge of violated majeſty. He repreſented him as a man of a turbulent ſpirit, and an accomplice with Rheſcuporis at the time, when that Barbarian, having put his nephew Cotys to death, was on the eve of a war with Rome. Vetus fell a ſacrifice. He was interdicted from fire and water, with an additional ſentence, that he ſhould be confined to ſome iſland not contiguous either to Macedonia or Thrace.

Since the partition of the latter kingdom between Rhæmetalces and the ſons of Cotys, to whom Trebellienus Rufus was appointed guardian, that country continued in a ſtate of tumult and hoſtility to Rome. The people ſaw, with minds exaſperated, the grievances inflicted on the natives, and, having no proſpect of redreſs, accuſed Trebellienus no leſs than Rhæmetalces. In the ſame juncture the Cælaletans, the Odryſæans, Dians, and other adjacent ſtates, in one general revolt, had recourſe to arms. They took the field under their own reſpective chiefs, men of no conſideration, and all by their meanneſs and incapacity reduced to one common level. Hence no concerted plan, no ſpirit of union. By one party the country was laid waſte; another paſſed over Mount Hæmus, with a deſign to draw diſtant nations into their confederacy; while the moſt numerous and beſt diſciplined troops ſat down before Philippopolis (a city founded by Philip of Macedon), and there held Rhæmetalces cloſely beſieged.

XXXIX. On the firſt intelligence of this revolt, Publius Velleius *(a)*, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood, ſent a detachment of horſe and light infantry in purſuit of the

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inſurgents, who ſpread themſelves over the country, either with a view to plunder, or to reinforce their numbers. He himſelf marched in force to raiſe the ſiege. He was ſucceſsful in every quarter: the freebooters were put to the ſword; and diſſenſions breaking out among the beſiegers, Rhæmetalces made a ſally in the moment when the Roman army came up to his relief. The Barbarians abandoned the place. Of theſe events, however proſperous, there is no room to ſpeak in the pomp of military language: a rabble of ſavages without diſcipline, and almoſt without weapons, cannot be called an army; nor was that a battle, where the enemy was cut to pieces, without the effuſion of Roman blood.

XL. In the courſe of the ſame year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occaſioned by the load of debt that oppreſſed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illuſtrious birth. Their anceſtors had deſerved well of the Romans, and, for their ſervices, received the freedom of the city, at a time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By theſe incendiaries ſecret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league, together with ſuch as languiſhed in poverty, or, being conſcious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow deſperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouſe the neighbouring Gauls. The plan thus ſettled, they caballed in private, held frequent meetings, and left no topic untouched that could inflame the minds of the people. "Tributes," they ſaid, "were levied with unabating rigour; "uſurious intereſt oppreſſed the poor, and their haughty maſters "continued to lord it over them with pride and arrogance.

"By

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"By the murder of Germanicus, diſaffection was diffuſed among "the legions, and the opportunity to ſtrike the blow for liberty "was now arrived. Reflect on the numbers we can bring into "the field: remember the impoveriſhed ſtate of Italy. At Rome "every warlike principle is extinguiſhed. The ſtrength of their "armies is mouldered away. They have no national ſtrength, "but depend altogether on foreign nations to fight their battles."

XLI. A GENERAL ſpirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola *(a)*, who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the inſurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The ſame commander, with a legionary force, detached by Viſellius Varro, from the Lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the inſurrection. In this expedition ſome of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cauſe, but pretending friendſhip, in order, with ſurer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was ſeen in the heat of action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to ſignalize his courage and fidelity; but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the priſoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of theſe diſturbances was tranſmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indeciſion prolonged the war.

XLII. JULIUS FLORUS, in the mean time, continued to exert his moſt vigorous efforts. A regiment of horſe, raiſed formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman diſcipline, happened to be quartered at Treves. He tampered with thoſe troops,

troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general maſſacre of the Roman merchants. A ſmall number liſtened to his advice, but the reſt continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors, and a number of his own dependants. He marched towards the foreſt of Arden *(a)*, but was intercepted by the legions detached by Viſellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of thoſe troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Treves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reaſon, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undiſciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for ſome time concealed in lurking-places; but at length finding himſelf unable to elude the ſearch of the Roman ſoldiers, and ſeeing the defiles and paſſes guarded on every ſide, he died by his own ſword. The people of Treves, after this event, returned to their duty.

XLIII. THE Æduan commotions were not ſo eaſily quelled. The ſtate was rich and powerful, and the force neceſſary to ſubdue the inſurrection lay at a conſiderable diſtance. Sacrovir ſtrained every nerve to ſupport his cauſe. He ſeized the city of Auguſtodunum, the capital of the Æduans, and took into his cuſtody the flower of the young nobility, who reſorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a ſchool of ſcience and liberal education. By detaining thoſe pledges, he hoped to attach to his intereſt their parents and relations. He ſupplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with ſecrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to no leſs than forty thouſand, a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions; the reſt carried hunting-poles, knives, and other inſtruments of the chaſe. He had, beſides, preſſed into his ſervice a body of ſlaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, accord-

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ing to the cuſtom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called CRUPELLARIANS. Their armour was impenetrable to the ſtroke of the enemy, but at the ſame time rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms; but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealouſies ſubſiſting between the Roman generals *(a)*. Each claimed to himſelf the conduct of the war; and the diſpute continued till Varro, finding himſelf impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigour of his days.

XLIV. MEANWHILE a report prevailed at Rome, that not only the Æduans and the Treviri, but ſeveral other cities of Gaul, to the number of ſixty-four, had thrown off the yoke. Germany, it was added, had joined the league; and Spain was wavering. The rumour, as uſually happens, was magnified by the credulity of the populace. Good men felt for their country: the greater part, deteſting the preſent ſyſtem, and wiſhing for nothing ſo much as a change, enjoyed the confuſion, and triumphed in the common danger. Invective did not ſpare Tiberius. "In a difficult and alarming criſis, he was buſy in ſettling "the forms of ſome new proſecution. Did he mean to proceed "by way of information againſt Julius Sacrovir? Was that "chieftain to be accuſed of violated majeſty? The revolt plainly "ſhewed that there ſtill exiſted men of undaunted valour, who "were reſolved, at the point of the ſword, to defy his letters "written in blood to the ſenate; and war, with all its dangers, "was preferable to a ſanguinary peace under a deſpotic tyrant." Amidſt theſe murmurs of diſcontent, Tiberius appeared with an unruffled temper, never once changing his look, his place of abode, or his habits of life. Is this to be aſcribed to magnanimity?

nimity? or did he know, by ſecret intelligence, that the whole was either falſe, or magnified beyond the truth?

XLV. SILIUS, in the mean time, having ſent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waſte the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Auguſtodunum. Nothing could equal the ardour of the legions: the ſtandard-bearers with emulation gave every proof of their alacrity; the common ſoldiers declared, with one voice, that they wanted no repoſe; the night ought not to be loſt in ſleep; let them but ſee the enemy, they aſked no more; victory was ſure to follow. At the diſtance of twelve miles from Auguſtodunum Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armour, were ſtationed in the centre; his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. He was himſelf mounted on a ſuperb horſe, attended by a number of chiefs. He rode through the ranks, haranguing his men: he called to mind the glory of their anceſtors *(a)*, their brave exploits againſt the Romans, and the eternal honour of ſucceeding in the cauſe of liberty. A defeat, he ſaid, would bring with it infamy, and chains, and bondage.

XLVI. THE ſpeech was ſhort, and the ſoldiers heard it without emotion. The legions advanced in regular order. A band of raw recruits, lately levied in the towns of Gaul, could not ſuſtain a fight ſo terrible. The faculties of eyes and ears were loſt in confuſion. By the Romans victory was already anticipated. To exhort them was unneceſſary, yet Silius thought proper to inflame their ardour. "The diſgrace," he ſaid, "would

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" be great, if the victorious legions, who had conquered in Ger-
" many, were now to conſider the Gauls as an equal enemy.
" The rebels of Tours have been chaſtiſed by a ſingle cohort;
" a detachment of the cavalry cruſhed the inſurgents at Treves;
" and a handful of this very army gave the Sequanians a total
" overthrow. The Æduans are now before you; not an army,
" but an effeminate race, abounding in wealth, and enervated by
" luxury. Charge with valour, and to purſue the runaways
" will be your only trouble." This ſpeech was received with a general ſhout. The rebels were ſoon hemmed in by the cavalry; the front of their line gave way at the firſt onſet of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armour ſtill kept their ranks. No impreſſion could be made by ſwords and javelins. The Romans had recourſe to their hatchets and pickaxes. With theſe, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load, and cruſhed both men and armour. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceleſs enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate maſs, without an effort to riſe. Sacrovir threw himſelf into the town of Auguſtodunum, but in a ſhort time, fearing to be given up a priſoner, withdrew, with his moſt faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighbourhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers, having firſt ſet fire to the place, turned their ſwords againſt themſelves, and periſhed in one general carnage.

XLVII. TIBERIUS, at length, thought fit to write to the ſenate on the ſubject of theſe commotions. In one and the ſame letter he gave an account of the war begun and ended. He neither magnified nor diſguiſed the truth, but in plain terms aſcribed the whole ſucceſs to the valour of his officers, and the wiſdom of his councils. Why he did not go in perſon, or ſend his ſon Druſus, the ſame letter explained his reaſons: " The

" extent

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"extent and majeſty of the empire claimed his utmoſt care. "It was not for the dignity of the prince, on the revolt of one "or two cities, to relinquiſh the ſeat of government. But now, "ſince he could not be ſuppoſed to be under any kind of alarm, "it was his intention to ſhew himſelf to the provinces, in order, "by his preſence, to allay the ferment, and reſtore the public "tranquillity." Vows for his return, and ſolemn feſtivals, with other uſual ceremonies, were decreed by the ſenate. Dolabella, intending to diſplay his genius in the trade of flattery, ſucceeded ſo far as to ſhew his meanneſs and abſurdity. He propoſed that the emperor, on his return from Campania, ſhould enter the city with the ſplendour of an ovation. This occaſioned a letter to the ſenate from Tiberius, wherein he obſerved, "that after conquer-"ing fierce and warlike nations, and having in his youth received "and declined triumphal honours, he was not ſuch a novice "to glory as to deſire, in the evening of his days, the vain parade "of a public entry, for an excurſion that was little more than a "party of pleaſure to the ſuburbs of Rome."

XLVIII. About this time Tiberius wrote to the ſenate, requeſting that a public funeral might be decreed to Sulpicius Quirinius *(a)*; a man no way related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii. He was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town: he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military ſervices, had conſiderable talents for buſineſs, and was raiſed by Auguſtus to the honour of the conſulſhip. Having afterwards ſtormed and taken the ſtrong holds of the Homonadenſians in Cilicia, he obtained triumphal honours. He attended Caius Cæſar in his expedition to Armenia, the chief director of his councils, and made uſe of that opportunity to pay his court, with ſecrecy, to Tiberius, while that prince reſided in the iſle of Rhodes. This anecdote Tiberius mentioned in his letter; declaring himſelf, in gracious terms,

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well pleaſed with the good offices of Quirinius, and, at the ſame time, reflecting with a degree of acrimony on Marcus Lollius, to whoſe conduct he imputed the diſſenſions between himſelf and Caius Cæſar. But the character of Quirinius was held in no eſteem: his unrelenting proſecution of Lepida, already related, was ſtill remembered; and the ſordid avarice of the man, even in old age, and in the height of power, left a ſtain upon his memory.

XLIX. THE year cloſed with a proſecution of a ſingular nature. Caius Lutorius Priſcus, a Roman knight, was the author of an applauded poem on the death of Germanicus, and for his compoſition had received a reward from Tiberius. The crime laid to his charge was, that, when Druſus lay ill, he prepared another elegy, from which he hoped, if the young prince died, to derive ſtill greater emolument. With the vanity of a poet Lutorius read his verſes at the houſe of Publius Petronius, in the preſence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of that ſenator. Several women of diſtinction were of the party. As ſoon as the proſecutor opened the heads of his accuſation, the confidential friends of the author were ſtruck with terror. The fact was admitted by all, except Vitellia: ſhe had the memory of a liberal-minded woman, and could recollect nothing. Credit, however, was given to the reſt of the evidence. Haterius Agrippa, conſul elect, was the firſt to give his opinion: he propoſed that the unfortunate poet ſhould ſuffer death.

L. MANIUS LEPIDUS oppoſed the motion. He ſpoke as follows: "If in our deliberations, conſcript fathers, we advert to "nothing but the flagitious ſentiments, by which Lutorius has "diſcovered the malignity of his heart, and wounded the ear of "others, neither the dungeon, nor the rope, nor the torments, "which the law ordains for ſlaves, would be adequate to the enor-

"mity of his guilt. But on the other hand, however great the "depravity of mankind, there are degrees of puniſhment. The "clemency of the prince interpoſes often to mitigate the rigour "of the law; the wiſdom of our anceſtors has delivered down "to us a ſyſtem of juſtice founded in mercy, and you have, on "many occaſions, followed their example. If between error in "judgment and malignity of heart a diſtinction is to be made; "if words and criminal actions are not to be confounded, the "caſe before us admits a ſentence, which at once will reach the "offence, and leave us no reaſon to bluſh either for our modera-"tion or our ſeverity. The complaints of the emperor, when "the guilty, by a voluntary death, have prevented the effect of "his clemency, have been heard by us all. Lutorius lives; and "ſhould he continue to do ſo, will the ſtate be in danger? His "death will neither promote the public intereſt, nor ſerve as an "example to others. Productions ſuch as his, the effuſions of "a wild and irregular fancy, may well be left to flutter for a "time, and then, like all frivolous things, to be forgotten. No-"thing ſerious or important is to be expected from him, who be-"trays himſelf, not in the hearing of men, but in a circle of wo-"men. And yet my voice is againſt him: let him be condemned "to exile; let his effects be confiſcated; let fire and water be in-"terdicted. This is my opinion, the ſame as I ſhould give, had "he been in due form convicted on the law of violated majeſty."

LI. RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, of conſular rank, was the only perſon that aſſented to the opinion of Lepidus. The reſt concurred with Agrippa. The poet was hurried away, and ſtrangled in a dungeon. Concerning theſe proceedings Tiberius wrote to the ſenate in his uſual ſtyle, ambiguous and inexplicable. He commended the zeal of the fathers, even in a matter of no importance, but deſired that, for the future, words alone ſhould not be puniſhed

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niſhed with ſo much precipitation. He praiſed the humanity of Lepidus, yet found no fault with Agrippa. This produced a decree, by which it was enacted, that no ſentence of condemnation ſhould, for the future, be ſent to the treaſury, till the tenth day after paſſing it; and, in the interval, execution was to be ſuſpended. The fathers, however, were not to have the power of rejudging their own acts, or revoking their ſentence. The appeal was to be to Tiberius, and no time could ſoften that implacable temper.

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LII. CAIUS SULPICIUS and Decimus Haterius were the next conſuls. The year was free from foreign commotions; but at Rome new laws were expected to check the growth of luxury, and that apprehenſion ſpread a general alarm. The prodigality *(a)* of the times had riſen to the higheſt pitch. In many articles of expence, and thoſe the heavieſt, the real price might be concealed; but the coſt of the table was too well underſtood. The profuſion, with which luxury was maintained, could not remain a ſecret. It was therefore apprehended, that a prince, addicted to the frugality of ancient manners, would endeavour by ſevere regulations to control the miſchief.

The ſubject was opened in the ſenate by Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles: his colleagues joined to ſupport him. They ſtated that the ſumptuary laws were fallen into contempt. The extravagance in furniture and utenſils, though prohibited, grew every day more enormous, inſomuch that, by moderate penalties, the miſchief was not to be cured. The ſenate, without further debate, referred the whole to the conſideration of the emperor. Tiberius weighed every circumſtance: he knew that paſſions, which had taken root, could not be eaſily weeded out of the heart: he conſidered how far coercive meaſures might be a public grievance.

ance. If an unſucceſsful attempt gave a victory to vice, the defeat he ſaw would be a diſgrace to government; and the neceſſity of waging continual war againſt the characters and fortunes of the moſt eminent citizens, was what he wiſhed to avoid. After mature deliberation, he ſent his thoughts in writing to the ſenate, in ſubſtance as follows:

LIII. "UPON any other queſtion, conſcript fathers, it would "perhaps be expedient, that I ſhould attend the debate in perſon, "and, in my place, lay before you what I conceive to be for the "advantage of the commonwealth. At preſent, it may be better "that my eyes ſhould not ſurvey the ſcene. In ſo mixed an "aſſembly, many, no doubt, by their looks and manner, might "be apt to betray a conſciouſneſs of their own vicious habits. "The attention of the ſenate would naturally fix upon ſuch "men, and I ſhould, of courſe, be led to watch their behaviour: "in that caſe, the guilty would, as it were, be taken in the fact. "Had the ædiles, whoſe zeal deſerves commendation, applied "in the firſt inſtance to me, I ſhould, perhaps, have thought it "adviſable to connive at vices that have gathered ſtrength from "time, rather than expoſe to the world the inveteracy of the miſ-"chief, and the feebleneſs of legal remedies. Thoſe magiſtrates, "it muſt be acknowledged, have performed their duty, with a "ſpirit which every civil officer would do well to emulate. As "to myſelf, to remain ſilent, were a deſertion of the public; "and to ſpeak out, may be impolitic. The part which I ſuſtain "is neither that of ædile, prætor, or conſul. From the emperor "ſomething more than the minute detail of buſineſs is expected. "The pre-eminence is painful, while individuals claim the merit "of all the good that is done, and, if men tranſgreſs, the blame is "transferred to the prince. At the expence of one, all are guilty. "If a reform is in truth intended, where muſt it begin? and

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" how am I to reſtore the ſimplicity of ancient times? Muſt I " abridge your villas, thoſe vaſt domains, where tracts of land are " laid out for ornament? Muſt I retrench the number of ſlaves, " ſo great at preſent that every family ſeems a nation in itſelf? " What ſhall be ſaid of maſſy heaps of gold and ſilver? of ſtatues " wrought in braſs, and an infinite collection of pictures, all " indeed highly finiſhed, the perfection of art? How ſhall we " reform the taſte for dreſs, which, according to the reigning " faſhion, is ſo exquiſitely nice, that the *(a)* ſexes are ſcarce " diſtinguiſhed? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles " of female vanity, and, in particular, with that rage for jewels " and precious trinkets, which drains the empire of its wealth, " and ſends, in exchange for bawbles, the money of the common- " wealth to foreign nations, and even to the enemies of Rome?

LIV. " THAT theſe abuſes are the ſubject of diſcuſſion at every " table, and the topic of complaint in all private circles, I am not " now to learn. And yet, let a law be made with proper ſanc- " tions, and the very men, who call for a reform, will be the firſt " to make objections. The public peace, they will ſay, is diſturb- " ed; illuſtrious families are in danger of ruin; and all, without " diſtinction, muſt live in dread of rigorous enquiries, and the " harpies of the law. It is with the body politic as the body " natural: in the latter, chronical diſorders, in time grown obſti- " nate, call for harſh and violent remedies. Juſt ſo in the diſtem- " pers of the mind: the heart, ſick to the very core with vice, " corrupted and corrupting, requires an antidote as ſtrong as the " poiſon that inflames our paſſions. Many wholeſome laws were " made by our anceſtors, and many by Auguſtus: the former are " grown obſolete; and the latter (to the diſgrace of the age) " are fallen into contempt, and, by conſequence, luxury riots " without control. The reaſon is obvious: while there is no

" law

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" law in force to prevent abuſes, men proceed with caution, that " the magnitude of the miſchief may not provoke the authority of " the legiſlature; but when poſitive inſtitutions are found inade- " quate, the caſe is very different: unbridled paſſions take their " courſe with impunity, and all tranſgreſs without fear or ſhame.

" Why was frugality the practice of ancient times? Becauſe " each individual was a law to himſelf; becauſe he knew how to " moderate his deſires; becauſe we were then the inhabitants of a " ſingle city. Even Italy, when reduced to ſubjection, afforded " but few incentives to luxury. Foreign victories taught us to " diſſipate the property of others; and the civil wars made us pro- " digal of our own. But after all, is the miſchief, which the " ædiles make the ground of their complaint, the worſt of " our grievances? Compare it with other evils, and it vaniſhes " into nothing. Italy ſtands in need of foreign ſupplies, and yet " no reformer tells us, how much the commonwealth is every " day at the mercy of the winds and waves. The produce of " colonies is imported to maintain our pride and luxury, to feed " the maſter of the ſoil, and to ſupply his ſlaves with the neceſſa- " ries of life. Should thoſe reſources fail, will our groves, our " villas, and our ſpacious pleaſure-grounds be ſufficient to ſatisfy " our wants? That care is left to the ſovereign. Should he neg- " lect that eſſential duty, the commonwealth is loſt. With re- " gard to other evils, the remedy is in the breaſt of every indivi- " dual. Men of rank may be reſtrained by principle, the poor " by indigence, and the rich by ſatiety. Theſe are my ſentiments. " If, notwithſtanding, any magiſtrate ſhould be of opinion that " more may be done; if he feels within himſelf vigour and in- " duſtry to oppoſe the torrent; I honour the firmneſs of his cha- " racter, and cheerfully reſign to abler hands a great part of my " own ſolicitude. But when he has declaimed againſt corruption,

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"if his zeal is to evaporate in a florid ſpeech; if the violence of "party-reſentments, which his patriot cares have rouſed, is to "point at me, while the cenſor of the manners enjoys the fame "of his eloquence; believe me, conſcript fathers, I am not more "than another ambitious of making enemies. To encounter "animoſities, for the moſt part unprovoked, and often unjuſt, is "too much my lot at preſent; and yet, for the intereſt of the "community, it is a tax which I am willing to pay. But if I "deprecate new hoſtilities, permit me, with your conſent, to "avoid all ſuch as may be excited without due conſideration, uſe-"leſs to the ſtate, and to me big with every diſadvantage."

LV. THIS letter being read, the ſenate releaſed the ædiles from all farther care about the buſineſs. Luxury went on with boundleſs profuſion. It began ſoon after the battle of Actium *(a)*, and continued to flouriſh, for the ſpace of a century, down to the time when Galba attained the imperial dignity. At that period the manners changed, and temperance became the faſhion. Of this revolution in the modes of life a ſhort account will not be improper. While the old conſtitution ſtill ſubſiſted, pomp and ſplendour were often the ruin of the moſt illuſtrious families. To conciliate the favour of the populace, and of the allies of Rome, including even kings and princes, was the great object of a Roman citizen. In proportion to his wealth, his grandeur, and the magnificence of his retinue, his importance roſe, and with it the number of his clients. But when the beſt blood in Rome was ſpilt by imperial tyranny, and to be eminent was to be marked out for deſtruction; it became the intereſt of the great to lay aſide all vain oſtentation, and adopt a more humble plan of life. At the ſame time, a new race of men from the municipal towns, the colonies, and the provinces, found their way, not only to Rome, but even into the ſenate. The ſtrangers, thus incor-

incorporated, brought with them their natural parſimony. In the courſe of a long life many of them, either by their own frugality, or a tide of ſucceſs in their affairs, accumulated immoderate riches; yet even in affluence avarice was their ruling paſſion. But the cauſe, which, above all others, contributed to the revival of ancient œconomy, was the character of Veſpaſian; a man of primitive temperance and rigid auſterity. All agreed to imitate ſo excellent a model. Reſpect for the prince did more than all the pains and penalties of the law. And yet, it may be true, that in the nature of things there is a principle of rotation, in conſequence of which the manners, like the ſeaſons, are ſubject to periodical changes. Nor is it certain that, in the former ages of the world, every thing was better than in the times that ſucceeded. The preſent age has produced, in moral conduct and the liberal arts, a number of bright examples, which poſterity will do well to imitate. May the conteſt with antiquity continue! but let it be a generous emulation for ſuperior virtue; and may that ſpirit go down to future times!

LVI. TIBERIUS gained by theſe proceedings a conſiderable ſhare of popularity. His moderation, in the buſineſs of the intended reform, gave ſatisfaction to all ranks and conditions. The people ſaw, with pleaſure, the tribe of informers diſappointed in their views. In this favourable moment, Tiberius, by letters to the ſenate, deſired that his ſon Druſus might be inveſted with the tribunitian dignity. That ſpecious title, importing nothing leſs than ſovereign power, was invented by Auguſtus, at a time when the name of king or dictator was not only unconſtitutional, but univerſally deteſted. And yet a new name was wanted to overtop the magiſtrates and the forms of the conſtitution. In that power uſurped, Marcus Agrippa became his colleague; and, after his death, Tiberius Nero ſucceeded. By the laſt promotion, it

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was the policy of Auguſtus to mark out the line of ſucceſſion, and thereby check the views of aſpiring men. He was ſure that Tiberius would act an under part, and, beſides, his own name was a tower of ſtrength. Tiberius, in the preſent juncture, followed the precedent left by Auguſtus. During the life of Germanicus, he held the balance even between the two young princes, reſerving to himſelf the power of deciding when he ſhould ſee occaſion. In the letter, which opened the matter to the ſenate, after invoking the gods, and fervently praying, that the meaſure might be of advantage to the commonwealth, he introduced the character of Druſus, but in a guarded ſtyle, never exceeding the bounds of truth. The prince, he ſaid, had a wife and three children, and was then of the age, which he himſelf had attained *(a)* when raiſed by Auguſtus to the ſame honour. Nor could the favour, now requeſted, be deemed premature. Druſus had gone through a probation of eight years: the proofs of his merit were, ſeditions quelled, wars happily terminated, the ſplendour of a triumph, and two conſulſhips. There was, therefore, no danger that he would be a novice in public buſineſs.

LVII. THE ſenate was not taken by ſurpriſe: the emperor's intention had been foreſeen, and flattery was ready with her ſervile ſtrain. Invention, notwithſtanding, was at a loſs for novelty. Statues were decreed to Tiberius and his ſon; altars were raiſed to the gods; temples were built, and triumphal arches erected, with other honours of a ſimilar nature. Marcus Silanus aimed at ſomething new. Willing, at the expence of the conſular dignity, to pay a compliment to the princes, he propoſed that, in all public and private regiſters, the year ſhould no longer take its date from the names of the conſuls, but from the perſons inveſted with the tribunitian power. Quintus Haterius went ſtill farther: he moved that the decrees of that day ſhould be fixed up in the ſenate-houſe

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in letters of gold. His motion was treated with contempt and ridicule. The fathers ſaw with indignation a ſuperannuated ſenator, who, on the verge of life, could incur preſent infamy, without a proſpect of future wages.

LVIII. AMIDST theſe tranſactions, the government of Africa was continued to Junius Blæſus. The proconſulſhip of Aſia, happening then to be vacant, was demanded by Servius Maluginenſis, the prieſt of Jupiter. In ſupport of his claim, he contended, "that the inability of a prieſt, in his ſtation, to go out "of Italy, was a vulgar error. The order, to which he belonged, "differed in nothing from that of Mars and Romulus. If the "prieſts of the two laſt were eligible to foreign governments, "whence aroſe his incapacity? No prohibitory law was ever "paſſed by the people: the books of religious ceremonies are "ſilent on the ſubject. In particular caſes, when the miniſters "of Jupiter were detained, either by illneſs or by public buſineſs, "one of the pontiffs officiated in his place. After the tragical death "of Cornelius Merula *(a)*, a ſpace of no leſs than ſeventy-ſix "years elapſed, without any nomination to the office: did the "intereſts of religion ſuffer in the mean time? During that whole "period, the ſacerdotal function was ſuſpended, without preju-"dice to the eſtabliſhed worſhip; and why ſhould not his abſence "be excuſed during the year of his proconſular government? "That ſome of his predeceſſors had been reſtrained by the autho-"rity of the chief pontiff, was a fact not to be controverted; but "the reſtraint, in thoſe caſes, was the effect of private animoſity. "At preſent, by the indulgence of the gods, the chief pontiff is "the chief of men; a ſtranger to all petty jealouſies; uninfluenced "by the cabals of a party, and ſuperior to the little motives of a "private ſtation."

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LIX. LENTULUS the augur, and ſeveral other ſenators, oppoſed the motion. A debate enſued, with ſo much diverſity of opinion, that the queſtion was referred to the deciſion of the ſupreme pontiff *(a)*. Tiberius was not in haſte to determine the point. In his letters to the ſenate, he mentioned nothing but the honours decreed to Druſus on his elevation to the tribunitian power; and thoſe he thought good to modify with certain reſtrictions. He cenſured, in direct terms, the reſolution propoſed by Silanus, and likewiſe the motion of Haterius, for fixing up the decrees in letters of gold; condemning both as unconſtitutional, and repugnant to ancient uſage. Letters from Druſus were, at the ſame time, read in the ſenate, modeſt in the ſtyle and turn of expreſſion, but, in the general opinion, denoting pride and arrogance. "Rome," they ſaid, "was reduced to an humble condi-" tion, when a young man, raiſed to the higheſt dignity, declines " to return thanks to the gods in their own temples; when he " diſdains to honour the ſenate with his preſence, and refuſes to " attend the uſual auſpices in his native city. Was it war that " detained him? or did he dread the inconvenience of a long " journey, when he was only viſiting the coaſt of Campania, or " purſuing his pleaſures on the lakes? This is the education of " him, who is to be the future maſter of the Roman world! He " is tutored in the political ſchool of his father! Tiberius may have " his reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from the public eye: the " infirmities of age, and the labours of his life, afford a colourable " pretext; but for Druſus what apology can be made? Pride, " rank pride, is his only motive."

LX. To ſtrengthen the foundations of his own power was the conſtant policy of Tiberius. Intent on that object, he ſtill preſerved the forms of the conſtitution, and amuſed the ſenate with a phan-

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a phantom of liberty. All petitions from the provinces were referred to that aſſembly. About this time, the right of having ſanctuaries *(a)*, and of multiplying the number without limitation, was aſſumed by all the cities of Greece. The temples in that country were crowded by the moſt abandoned ſlaves; debtors ſkreened themſelves from their creditors, and criminals fled from juſtice. The magiſtrates were no longer able to controul a ſeditious populace, who carried their crimes, under a maſk of piety, to the altar of their gods. An order was therefore made, that the ſeveral cities ſhould ſend their deputies to Rome, with a ſtate of their reſpective claims. Some places, finding their pretenſions brought to the teſt, thought proper to decline the enquiry. The rights of others were founded on traditional ſuperſtition; and ſuperſtition was not willing to renounce her errors. Some of the cities relied on the merit of their anceſtors in the ſervice of Rome. The buſineſs came at length to a hearing. A day more auguſt and ſplendid cannot be figured to the imagination. We now behold a Roman ſenate ſitting in judgment on the grants of the old republic; diſcuſſing the treaties and conventions of confederate nations; deliberating on the acts of kings, while kings were able to make a ſtand againſt the power of Rome; and, above all, reviewing the various ſyſtems of religion, which had been for ages eſtabliſhed in the belief of mankind. Theſe were the important ſubjects; and, to give ſtill greater dignity to the ſcene, the ſenate met, as was the practice in good times, with authority to enquire, and liberty to determine.

LXI. The caſe of the Epheſians was the firſt brought forward. It was ſtated in their behalf, that Diana and Apollo were not, as generally ſuppoſed, born in the iſle of Delos, but in the Ortygian Grove, on the banks of the river Cenchris, which flows within the territories of Epheſus. In that ſacred receſs, Latona, taking

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ſhelter under an olive-tree, was delivered of thoſe two deities. The tree was ſtill to be ſeen in a flouriſhing ſtate, and the grove became a conſecrated ſpot. It was there that Apollo, after having ſlain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter; it was there that Bacchus, after his victories, gave a free pardon to ſuch of the Amazons as fled for protection to the altar; and it was there that Hercules, having conquered Lydia, eſtabliſhed a temple, with rites and ceremonies, which neither the Perſian kings, nor the Macedonian conqueror, preſumed to violate. The Romans at all times paid the ſtricteſt regard to the ſanctity of the place.

LXII. THE Magneſians were the next in order. They relied on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio *(a)*, confirmed and ratified by Lucius Sylla; the former victorious over Antiochus, and the latter over Mithridates. In the wars which were waged under their conduct, the Magneſians adhered with fidelity to the cauſe of Rome; and, to reward their ſervices, the temple of Diana Leucophrynè was, by thoſe commanders, declared a ſanctuary. The people of Aphrodiſium, and alſo of Stratonicè, produced a decree of Cæſar the dictator, and another of Auguſtus, commemorating the zeal, with which thoſe ſtates withſtood the Parthian invaſion, and preſerved to the laſt their attachment to the intereſt of Rome. The Aphrodiſians claimed the temple of Venus; the Stratoniceans worſhipped Jupiter and Diana Trivia. The city of Hierocæſarea deduced their ceremonies from remote antiquity, alleging that they had for ages adored a Perſian Diana, in a temple conſecrated by Cyrus *(b)*. Several orders made by Perpenna *(c)*, by Iſauricus, and other Roman generals, were alſo cited, whereby it appeared that thoſe ſanctuaries, with a precinct two miles round, were declared holy ground. The inhabitants of Cyprus claimed three ſanctuaries; the firſt and moſt ancient, dedicated

dedicated by Aerias *(d)* to the Paphian Venus; the ſecond, by Amathus, the ſon of Aerias, in honour of the Amathuſian Venus; and the third, to the Salaminian Jove, by Teucer, the ſon of Telamon, when that hero was obliged to fly from the rage of his father.

LXIII. SEVERAL other cities appeared by their deputies; but the ſenate, weary of the number, and of the party-ſpirit, with which different places were eſpouſed, came to a reſolution, to refer the whole to the conſuls, and wait their report on the merits of each diſtinctive caſe. The conſuls went through the enquiry. Beſides the temples already mentioned, they found at Pergamos the ſanctuary of Æſculapius, confirmed by authentic proof. The titles of other places, being all deduced from ages too remote, were loſt in the darkneſs of antiquity. In this number was the oracle of Apollo, by which it was pretended, that the people of Smyrna were commanded to build a temple to Venus Stratonice *(a)*; and another of the ſame god, directing a temple and a ſtatue to Neptune, in the iſle of Tenos. The Sardians, and the people of Miletus, were content with a more modern date. The former relied on the privileges granted by Alexander; and the latter, on the authority of Darius. Diana was the tutelar deity in one of thoſe cities, and Apollo in the other. The ſtatue of Auguſtus was held to be a ſanctuary by the inhabitants of Crete. Several decrees were paſſed, with due attention to the religious tenets of the people, yet limiting the number of ſanctuaries. Theſe regulations were ordered to be engraved in braſs, and fixed up in the reſpective temples, as laſting monuments, to aſcertain the rights now eſtabliſhed, and prevent the future claims of national pride, or blind ſuperſtition.

LXIV. ABOUT this time a fit of illneſs threatened the life of

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Livia. Her danger was ſo alarming, that it occaſioned the emperor's return to Rome. Hitherto the mother and ſon had lived on terms of mutual regard, or, at worſt, with hatred well diſguiſed. Livia, not long before, had raiſed a ſtatue to Auguſtus, near the theatre of Marcellus. In the votive inſcription her own name preceded that of the emperor. To the jealous temper of Tiberius this was an offence againſt the imperial dignity. His reſentment, however, was ſuppreſſed, and, for that reaſon, was thought to have ſunk the deeper. The ſenate proceeded to order ſupplications for the recovery of Livia, with ſolemn games on the occaſion; in which the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, with that of the ſeptemvirs, and the ſodality of Auguſtan prieſts, were to conduct the ceremonies. Lucius Apronius moved that the *(a)* heralds at arms ſhould likewiſe officiate. Tiberius oppoſed the motion. It proceeded, he ſaid, on a miſtaken principle. He mentioned the diſtinct functions of the ſeveral orders of the prieſthood, and made it clear, from ancient precedents, that the heralds had never been admitted to that participation of honour. The fraternity of Auguſtan prieſts was called forth with good reaſon, ſince that order belonged, in a peculiar manner, to the family, for which public vows were to be offered.

LXV. To give, in detail, the ſeveral motions and reſolutions of the time, is not within the plan of this work. And yet, when virtue and fair integrity do honour to the heart, or when a ſlaviſh ſpirit brands the character, in either caſe, it is my intention to ſelect the particular inſtances. In this, I apprehend, conſiſts the chief part of the hiſtorian's duty. It is his to rejudge the conduct of men, that generous actions may be ſnatched from oblivion, and that the author of pernicious counſels, and the perpetrator of evil deeds, may ſee, beforehand, the infamy that awaits them at the tribunal of poſterity. In general, a black and ſhameful

period

period lies before me. The age was ſunk to the loweſt depth of ſordid adulation; inſomuch that not only the moſt illuſtrious citizens, in order to ſecure their pre-eminence, were obliged to crouch and bend the knee, but men of conſular and prætorian rank, and the whole body of the ſenate *(a)*, tried with emulation which ſhould be the moſt obſequious ſlave. We are informed by tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went from the ſenate-houſe, was uſed to ſay in Greek, "Devoted men! "how they ruſh headlong into bondage!" Even he, the enemy of civil liberty, was diſguſted with adulation: he played the tyrant, and deſpiſed the voluntary ſlave.

LXVI. FROM acts of baſe compliance, the next ſtep of degenerate men was to deeds of horror. Caius Silanus, proconſul of Aſia, was accuſed of rapine and extortion by the people of the province. The conduct of the cauſe was undertaken by Mamercus Scaurus, of conſular rank; by Junius Otho, at that time prætor; and Brutidius Niger, one of the ædiles. The complaint was aggravated by an additional charge of irreverence to the divinity of Auguſtus, and diſaffection to Tiberius. Mamercus affected to grace himſelf by citing the bright examples of a former day *(a)*: Scipio Africanus, he obſerved, proſecuted Lucius Cotta; Cato the cenſor appeared againſt Servius Galba, and Marcus Scaurus againſt Publius Rutilius; as if thoſe great and excellent men had inſtituted proſecutions for conſtructive crimes like the preſent; as if Scaurus, the grandfather of the proſecutor, had deſcended to ſo vile an office. It was reſerved for Mamercus to degenerate into an informer, and tarniſh the luſtre of his anceſtors. Junius Otho, another proſecutor, had been by profeſſion the teacher of a ſchool *(b)*. Raiſed from that obſcurity by the patronage of Sejanus, he obtained a ſeat in the ſenate, and hoped by flagitious deeds to efface the meanneſs

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neſs of his origin. Brutidius was a different character. Adorned with liberal accompliſhments, and formed for great things, he was ſure of reaching the firſt honours of the ſtate, had he been willing to walk in the paths of virtue. His impatience ruined him. Eager to outſtrip his equals, and then to riſe over his ſuperiors, he enlarged his views, and began to ſoar above his moſt flattering hopes: but his ambition led him to the precipice from which good men have often fallen, when, not content with ſlow, but ſure, ſucceſs, they have hurried on with too much ardour, and ended their career in ruin.

LXVII. GELLIUS POPLICOLA, who had been quæſtor to Silanus, and Marcus Paconius, his lieutenant, liſted on the ſide of the proſecution. Silanus, beyond all doubt, was guilty both of rapine and oppreſſion; but in his caſe a number of circumſtances, dangerous even to innocence, conſpired againſt him. Beſides the perſons already mentioned, the moſt able orators of Aſia, men who were choſen on account of their eloquence, united their ſtrength. Againſt that powerful combination, Silanus ſtood alone, obliged, without any powers of oratory, to make his own defence with fear and trembling; a ſituation that might diſarm the nobleſt talents. Tiberius helped to increaſe his difficulties. With a ſtern tone of voice, and a contracted brow, he preſſed the defendant with ſudden queſtions, never ſuffering him to pauſe a moment, either to repel or elude the charge. Silanus was obliged to admit ſeveral points, rather than ſeem to refute or baffle the enquiry of the emperor. His very ſlaves, to make them competent witneſſes, were ſold by auction to the public officer; and, to make deſtruction ſure, Tiberius added the crime of violated majeſty, that none of the priſoner's family or friends might preſume to aſſiſt in the defence. Silanus deſired an adjournment of a few days. In that interval, abandoning

all his hopes, he ſent a memorial to Tiberius, in a ſtyle ſufficiently humble, but ſtill with the ſpirit of a man, who felt himſelf oppreſſed, and dared to ſpeak the language of reproach.

LXVIII. TIBERIUS remained inflexible: but, to give the colour of precedent to his final ſentence, he ordered the proceedings againſt Voleſus Meſſala *(a)* (who had alſo been proconſul of Aſia), with the record of Auguſtus, and the decree made on that occaſion, to be read. He then collected the votes, beginning with Lucius Piſo. That ſenator, after ſome flouriſhes in praiſe of the emperor's clemency, concluded, that Silanus ſhould be interdicted from fire and water, and baniſhed to the iſle of Gyarus *(b)*. The fathers concurred in the ſame opinion, when Cneius Lentulus propoſed, by way of mitigation, that the eſtate which deſcended to Silanus from his mother, ſhould not be included in the general forfeiture, but veſted in the grandſon. Tiberius agreed to the amendment. The buſineſs ſeemed to be at an end, when Cornelius Dolabella roſe to ſhew, that his ſervile ſpirit had not deſerted him. He launched out into a ſharp invective againſt the morals of Silanus, grafting on it a motion, that no man of diſſolute manners ſhould be eligible to the government of provinces; and of this incapacity the emperor ſhould be the ſole judge. "When a crime is committed, "the law takes cognizance of it, and inflicts the puniſh-"ment. But a law to prevent the offence, would be at once "an act of mercy to bad men, and a bleſſing to the provinces."

LXIX. TIBERIUS ſpoke in reply: "To the reports," he ſaid, "which were current to the diſadvantage of Silanus, he "was no ſtranger. But laws ought to have a better foundation "than public rumour. The governors of provinces had often "diſappointed the hopes, and ſometimes the fears of mankind.

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"By important ſcenes of action the powers of the mind are "rouſed; the heart expands to meet the occaſion; while, on "the other hand, feeble ſpirits ſhrink from a great opportunity, "and grow leſs by elevation. The prince can never be fully "informed; and it is not fit that he ſhould ſee with the eyes of "others. The arts of ambitious rivals may deceive him. In "human affairs nothing can be foreſeen with certainty, and "without facts, laws can have no operation. Till men have "acted, they cannot be judged. It was the wiſdom of our "anceſtors to keep the ſword of juſtice in the ſcabbard, till "actual offences drew it forth. In a ſyſtem ſo juſt in itſelf, "and ſo long eſtabliſhed, innovations ought not to be raſhly "made. The cares of government are a burthen to the ſove-"reign, and his prerogative wants no enlargement. Extend "his authority, and you abridge the rights of the ſubject. When "the laws in being are ſufficient, there is no occaſion to reſort "to the will of the prince."

This was, no doubt, a conſtitutional ſpeech. From a man little ſtudious of popularity, it was received with univerſal approbation. Tiberius did not ſtop here: when his own private reſentment was not provoked, he knew that moderation was the beſt policy: with that view he thought proper to add, that Gyarus was a dreary iſland, uncultivated, and inhoſpitable. In honour, therefore, of the Junian family, and from motives of lenity to a man, who was a member of the ſenate, he propoſed to change the place of baniſhment to the iſle of Cythera: and this, he ſaid, was the requeſt of Torquata, ſiſter to Silanus, and a veſtal virgin of diſtinguiſhed ſanctity. The fathers complied, and a decree was paſſed accordingly.

LXX. THE Cyrenians preſented a charge of rapine againſt

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Cæſius Cordus. Ancharius Priſcus conducted the proſecution, and ſentence of condemnation was pronounced. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, who had melted down a ſilver ſtatue of the emperor, and converted it to domeſtic uſes, was accuſed on the law of majeſty. Tiberius ſtopt the proceedings. Againſt this act of lenity Ateius Capito *(a)* proteſted openly; contending, with an air of ancient liberty, that "the right of the ſenate, to "hear and determine, ought not to be retrenched; eſpecially "when a crime of that magnitude called for vindictive juſtice. "The prince, in his own caſe, might be ſlow to reſent; but let "him not be generous at the expence of the public." This language, blunt as it was, gave no offence to Tiberius: he ſaw the drift of the ſpeech, and, diſregarding the tone with which it was uttered, perſiſted in his reſolution. Capito brought diſgrace on his name. Accompliſhed as he was in the ſcience of laws both human and divine, he poſſeſſed, beſides, a number of virtues that adorned his private character; but by this act of ſervile flattery he ſullied the luſtre of a diſtinguiſhed name.

LXXI. A QUESTION that concerned a point of religion was the next ſubject of debate. The Roman knights had vowed a ſtatue, for the recovery of Livia, to FORTUNE THE EQUESTRIAN. In what temple this ſhould be placed was the doubt. At Rome there were various ſtructures ſacred to the goddeſs, but none under that ſpecific title. Upon enquiry it was found that there was at Antium *(a)* a temple with that particular denomination; and it being conſidered that the whole ſyſtem of rites and ceremonies, and the ſeveral temples and images of the gods throughout Italy, were ſubject to the ſupreme authority of Rome, it was reſolved that the votive preſent ſhould be placed at Antium. This being a point of religious ceremony, Tiberius took the opportunity to determine the queſtion, which had

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had been for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, concerning Servius Maluginenſis, the prieſt of Jupiter. He produced and read a decree of the pontifical college, whereby it appeared that the prieſt of Jupiter, when his health required it, or when he obtained a diſpenſation from the ſupreme pontiff, might abſent himſelf from the duties of his function two nights at moſt; provided it was not during the public ceremonies, nor more than twice in the courſe of the year. From this regulation, made by Auguſtus, it was evident that a year's abſence, and of courſe a proconſular government, was incompatible with the ſacerdotal function. The authority of Lucius Metellus *(b)*, who, when high pontiff, would not ſuffer Aulus Poſthumius, a prieſt of Jupiter, to depart from Rome, was alſo cited. It followed, that the province of Aſia could not be granted to Maluginenſis. It fell to the lot of the perſon of conſular rank, who ſtood next in ſeniority.

LXXII. DURING theſe tranſactions, Marcus Lepidus petitioned the ſenate for leave to repair and decorate, at his own expence, the baſilick of Paulus *(a)*, that noble monument of the Æmilian family. The diſplay of private munificence in public works, which embelliſhed the city, was not yet fallen into diſuſe. In the reign of Auguſtus, without any objection from that emperor, Taurus *(b)*, Philippus, and Balbus, with the ſpoils which they had taken from the enemy, or with the ſuperfluity of their own immoderate wealth, added greatly to the ornament of Rome, and, by conſequence, to the honour of their families. Encouraged by this example, but with a fortune much inferior, Lepidus revived the glory of his anceſtors. The Theatre of Pompey had been deſtroyed by fire; and, the remaining branches of the family not being equal to the expence of ſo great a ſtructure, Tiberius declared his intention to build a new edifice, with the original name. He congratulated the ſenate, that

the damage occaſioned by the late fire, was confined to that ſingle building. For this, he ſaid, they were obliged to the vigilance of Sejanus. The ſenate decreed a ſtatue *(c)* to be placed in the Theatre of Pompey, in honour of the favourite. In a ſhort time afterwards, when triumphal ornaments were granted to Junius Blæſus, the proconſul of Africa, Tiberius made no ſcruple to declare, that his motive for beſtowing that high reward, was to pay a compliment to Sejanus, as the proconſul was his uncle.

LXXIII. BLÆSUS, however, had fairly earned his honours. Tacfarinas, often repulſed, was never defeated. He found reſources in the interior parts of Africa, and returned to the conflict with new vigour. He had at length the arrogance to ſend an embaſſy to Tiberius, demanding lands for himſelf and his army, or nothing ſhould make an end of the war. Tiberius, it is ſaid, was upon no occaſion ſo little maſter of himſelf. "It was an "inſult to the imperial majeſty, and the Roman name. Shall "a deſerter, a wandering vagabond, preſume to treat on equal "terms? Even Spartacus *(a)*, though he had defeated conſular "armies, and ſpread deſolation with ſword and fire through the "realms of Italy, was not allowed to negociate terms of peace, "though the commonwealth, at that time, was well nigh ex-"hauſted by Sertorius *(b)*, and the Mithridatic war. Even "then, no compromiſe was admitted; the dignity of the ſtate "was ſaved. And ſhall a flouriſhing empire deſcend ſo low as "to compound with Tacfarinas, and, by granting lands, become "the purchaſer of peace at the hands of a freebooter and a "robber?" Stung by theſe reflections, Tiberius ordered Blæſus to ſeduce the followers of Tacfarinas by promiſes of a free pardon to all, who ſhould lay down their arms: but as to their

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chief, he muſt ſtrain every nerve to ſecure the perſon of that daring adventurer.

LXXIV. The promiſed amneſty reduced the numbers of the enemy; and Blæſus, adopting a new mode of war, turned the arts of the wily Numidian againſt himſelf. Unequal to the legions in a pitched battle, Tacfarinas depended altogether upon the rapidity of his motions: he divided his men into ſmall parties; he ſhewed himſelf in ſudden incurſions, fled before a regular force, and knew where to lie in ambuſh. The Romans accordingly marched in three columns, by as many different routes. In the quarter where the Africans ravaged the country near Leptis, and then fled for ſhelter to the Garamantes, Cornelius Scipio, the proconſul's lieutenant, advanced with his diviſion. In another quarter, where Cirta lay expoſed to the Barbarians, the younger Blæſus, the proconſul's ſon, commanded a ſecond detachment. In the intermediate part of the country, the commander in chief marched at the head of a choſen body of troops. At all convenient places he threw up entrenchments, and appointed garriſons, ſecuring every ſtation by a regular chain of poſts.

The Barbarians found themſelves counteracted on every ſide. Wherever they turned, the Romans were at hand, in front, in flank, and in the rear. Numbers were ſurrounded, and either put to the ſword, or taken priſoners. To ſpread the alarm, the Roman army was again ſubdivided into ſmaller parties, under the command of centurions of approved valour and experience. Nor was the campaign cloſed, as uſual, at the end of the ſummer. Inſtead of retiring to winter-quarters in the old provinces, Blæſus kept the field; he increaſed the number of his

his posts and garrisons, and sent out detachments, lightly armed, with guides acquainted with the course of the country. Tacfarinas could no longer stand at bay. He shifted his huts *(a)*, and wandered from place to place. At length his brother was taken prisoner, and Blæsus thought it time to close the campaign. His retreat was sudden and premature. The province was still open to incursions; and the flame of war, though suppressed, was not extinguished. Tiberius, however, considered the enemy as completely vanquished. Besides the honours already granted to Blæsus, he ordered that the legions should salute him by the title of IMPERATOR, according to the ancient custom of the Roman armies, in the pride of victory flushed with the generous ardour of warlike spirits. In the time of the republic, this was a frequent custom, insomuch that several, at the same time, without pre-eminence or distinction, enjoyed that military honour. It was often allowed by Augustus, and now by Tiberius, for the last time. With him the practice ceased altogether *(b)*.

LXXV. ROME, in the course of this year, lost two illustrious citizens: the first was Asinius Saloninus *(a)*, grandson both to Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, half-brother to Drusus, and, besides, the intended husband of the emperor's grand-daughter. The second was Ateius Capito *(b)*, already mentioned; a man for his abilities and his knowledge of the laws, of the first eminence in the state. From his birth he derived no advantage. His grandfather was a centurion under Sylla; his father rose to the rank of prætor. Capito was, with rapid speed, advanced by Augustus to the consular dignity, and, by that promotion, placed above his competitor, Antistius Labeo, who had grown into celebrity by his talents and his skill in jurisprudence. It was the peculiar felicity of that age to see flourishing together those two illustrious rivals, who, in peaceable times, were the ornaments of their

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their country. The fame of Labeo *(c)* roſe on the ſureſt foundation; he was a ſtrenuous aſſerter of civil liberty, and for that reaſon the favourite of the people. Capito knew his approaches to the great, and by his flexibility became a favourite at the court of Auguſtus. Labeo was not ſuffered to riſe above the prætorian rank; but that act of injuſtice raiſed his popularity: while, on the other hand, Capito obtained the conſulſhip, and with it the public hatred.

LXXVI. In this year alſo, the ſixty-fourth *(a)* from the battle of Philippi, Junia, niece to Cato, ſiſter of Brutus, and the widow of Caſſius, paid her debt to nature. Her will engroſſed the public converſation. Poſſeſſed of immoderate riches, ſhe left marks of her regard to almoſt all the eminent men at Rome, without mention of Tiberius. The omiſſion gave no umbrage to the emperor. He conſidered it as the exerciſe of a civil right, and not only ſuffered her funeral panegyric to be ſpoken from the roſtrum, but allowed the laſt ceremonies to be performed with the uſual pomp and magnificence. In the proceſſion were ſeen the images of the moſt illuſtrious families, in number not leſs than twenty; the Manlii, the Quintii, and others of equal rank. Thoſe of Brutus and Caſſius *(b)* were not diſplayed; but for that reaſon they were preſent to every imagination, and with ſuperior luſtre eclipſed the ſplendor of the day.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

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Theſe tranſactions include ſix years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls.
776	23	*Caius Aſinius Pollio, Caius Antiſtius Vetus.*
777	24	*Sergius Cornelius Cethegus, Lucius Viſellius Varro.*
778	25	*Marcus Aſinius Agrippa, Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus.*
779	26	*Cornelius Lentulus Gætulicus, Caius Calviſius Sabinus.*
780	27	*Marcus Licinius Craſſus, Lucius Calpurnius Piſo.*
781	28	*Appius Junius Silanus, Publius Silius Nerva.*

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THE conſuls for the year, on which we are now entering, were Caius Aſinius, and Caius Antiſtius. Tiberius had reigned nine years. During that time a ſtate of profound tranquillity prevailed at Rome, and the emperor ſaw the imperial family flouriſhing with undiminiſhed luſtre. The loſs of Germanicus gave him no regret; on the contrary, he reckoned that event among the proſperous iſſues of his reign. But fortune now began to change the ſcene, and a train of diſaſters followed. Tiberius threw off the maſk: he haraſſed the people by acts of cruelty, or, which was equally oppreſſive, by his authority encouraged the tyranny of others. Of this revolution Ælius Sejanus, commander of the prætorian guards, was the prime and efficient

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cauſe. The power and influence of that miniſter have been already mentioned. I ſhall here give the origin of the man, the features of his character, and the flagitious arts, by which he aſpired to the ſupreme power.

He was born at Vulſinii *(a)*, the ſon of Seius Strabo *(b)*, a Roman knight. He attached himſelf, in his early youth, to Caius Cæſar, the grandſon of Auguſtus. Even at that time he laboured under a ſuſpicion of having proſtituted his perſon to the infamous paſſions of Apicius *(c)*, a rich and prodigal voluptuary. By various arts he afterwards gained an entire aſcendant over the affections of Tiberius, inſomuch, that the temper of that prince, to the reſt of mankind dark and inſcrutable, became to him alone unclouded, free, and complying. This influence, however, was not the effect of ſuperior ability; ſince Sejanus, in the end, fell a victim to the policy of that very prince, whom he deceived at firſt. A phænomenon ſo very extraordinary can be aſcribed to nothing leſs than the wrath of the gods, incenſed againſt the Roman ſtate. Whether the public ſuffered moſt by the elevation *(d)*, or the downfal, of that pernicious miniſter, it is difficult to determine. His frame of body was vigorous, robuſt, and patient of labour; his ſpirit, bold and enterpriſing: in his own conduct a profound diſſembler, and to others a ſharp and dangerous accuſer. With pride that ſwelled to arrogance, he had the meanneſs that could fawn and flatter; and, under the outward calm of moderation, he nouriſhed in his heart the moſt unbounded ambition. Profuſion, luxury, and largeſſes were often his means, but more frequently, application to buſineſs, and indefatigable induſtry; virtues that take the name of vice, when they play an underpart to inordinate paſſions and the luſt of domination *(e)*.

II. THE commiſſion over the prætorian bands had been always of

of a limited nature. Sejanus enlarged his powers to a degree unknown before. He had the addreſs to collect into one camp the whole corps of the guards, till that time quartered in various parts of Rome. Being embodied, they received their orders with ſubmiſſion; habit and conſtant intercourſe eſtabliſhed a ſpirit of union, and, knowing their numbers, they grew formidable to their fellow-citizens. The pretext for this meaſure was, that the ſoldiery grew wanton in idleneſs, but, when encamped, they might be drawn forth, with better effect, in any ſudden emergence, and, being confined within their entrenchments, at a diſtance from the vices of the metropolis, they would act with greater vigour whenever required. This plan being ſettled, Sejanus began his approaches to the affections of the ſoldiers: by affability and careſſes, he glided into favour; he appointed the tribunes and centurions; he endeavoured to ſeduce the ſenators by corruption; he promoted his creatures, and, at his pleaſure, beſtowed honours and provinces. All this was done, not only with the conſent, but with the moſt complying facility on the part of Tiberius, who now declared openly in favour of the miniſter, ſtyling him, in private converſation, his aſſociate in the cares of government, and uſing the ſame language even to the ſenate. Nor did he ſtop here: he allowed the images of his favourite to be worſhipped in the theatre, in the forum, and, at the head-quarters of the legions, in the place appropriated *(a)* for the ſtandards and the eagles.

III. As yet, however, the imperial family was in a flouriſhing ſtate. To ſecure the ſucceſſion there was no want of Cæſars. The emperor's ſon *(a)* was in the prime of manhood, and his grandſons in the flower of youth. Theſe were obſtacles to the views of Sejanus. To aſſail them with open force, were big with danger; and fraud requires delay, and intervals of guilt. He reſolved to work by ſtratagem. Druſus, againſt whom Sejanus

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nus was inflamed by recent provocations, was marked out as the firſt victim. It happened that Druſus, impatient of a rival, and by nature fierce, raiſed his hand, in ſome ſudden diſpute, againſt Sejanus; and that haughty miniſter, advancing forward, received a blow on the face. Stung with indignation, he thought no expedient ſo ſure, as the gaining of the younger Livia *(b)*, the wife of Druſus, to his intereſt. The princeſs was ſiſter to Germanicus; and though, in her younger days, ſhe had no elegance either of ſhape or feature, ſhe was now grown up in the moſt perfect form of regular beauty. Sejanus made his advances with the ardour of a lover. Having triumphed over her honour, he found another ſtep in guilt no difficult matter. A woman, who has ſacrificed her virtue, ſoon reſigns every other principle. Engaged in a courſe of adultery, ſhe was led by degrees to embrace the project of murdering her huſband, in order to marry her paramour, and mount with him to the imperial dignity.

In this manner a woman of illuſtrious rank, the niece of Auguſtus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and the mother of children by Druſus, diſgraced herſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, by a vile connection with an adulterer from a municipal town, renouncing the honours which ſhe poſſeſſed, for the uncertain proſpect of flagitious grandeur. Eudemus *(c)*, the confidential friend and phyſician of the faithleſs wife, was drawn into the conſpiracy. Under colour of his profeſſion, this man had eaſy acceſs to Livia. Sejanus liſted him into his ſervice; and that the harmony between himſelf and the adultereſs might be undiſturbed by jealouſy, he repudiated his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children. But ſtill the magnitude of the crime filled their minds with terror: they fluctuated between oppoſite counſels; they reſolved, they heſitated; delay, and doubt, and confuſion followed.

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IV. In the beginning of this year, Druſus, the ſecond ſon of Germanicus, put on the manly robe *(a)*. The honours, which had been decreed to his brother Nero, were renewed by a vote of the fathers. Tiberius, in a ſpeech upon the occaſion, commended the tender regard with which his ſon protected the children of Germanicus. The truth is, Druſus (though in high ſtations and among rivals ſincerity is ſeldom found) had acquitted himſelf towards his nephews, with all decent attention, at leaſt without hoſtility. Amidſt theſe tranſactions, the old project of viſiting the provinces, often intimated, but never in earneſt, was revived by Tiberius. For this expedition the oſtenſible reaſons were, the number of veterans entitled to their diſmiſſion from the ſervice, and the neceſſity of recruiting the army with effective men. Of ſuch as voluntarily offered, the number he ſaid was ſmall, and even of thoſe the greateſt part were a ſet of diſtreſſed and profligate vagabonds, deſtitute of courage, and ſtrangers to military diſcipline. He added a liſt of the Roman legions, ſpecifying the provinces where they were ſtationed. A review of that eſtimate will not be uſeleſs, or unacceptable, ſince it will exhibit the national ſtrength at that period, the kings in alliance with Rome, and the narrow limits *(b)* of the empire, compared with the extent, to which they have been ſince enlarged.

V. In the ſeas *(a)* that on each ſide waſh the coaſt of Italy, two fleets were ſtationed; one at Miſenum, the other at Ravenna. The maritime parts of Gaul, adjacent to Italy, were guarded by the large galleys, which were taken at the battle of Actium, and ſent by Auguſtus to Forojulium, well provided with able ſeamen. But the chief ſtrength of the empire was on the Rhine *(b)*, conſiſting of eight legions, to bridle at once the Germans and the Gauls. Spain, lately ſubdued, was held in ſubjection by three legions. Juba *(c)* reigned in Mauritania, deriving his title from the

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the favour of Rome. The reſt of Africa was kept in awe by two legions. A like number ſerved in Egypt. In that vaſt extent of country, which ſtretches from Syria to the Euphrates, bordering on the confines of Iberia, Albania, and other ſtates under the protection of the Roman arms, four legions maintained the rights of the empire. Thrace was governed by Rhœmetalces *(d)* and the ſons of Cotys. The banks of the Danube were ſecured by four legions, two in Pannonia, and two in Mæſia. Two more were ſtationed in Dalmatia, in a ſituation, if a war broke out at their back, to ſupport the other legions; or, if a ſudden emergence required their preſence, ready to advance by rapid marches into Italy. Rome at the ſame time had her own peculiar forces, namely, three city cohorts *(e)* and nine of the prætorian bands, raiſed for the moſt part in Etruria, Umbria *(f)*, ancient Latium, and the colonies of the old republic. To this national ſtrength muſt be added the naval armaments of the allies, placed at proper ſtations *(g)*, together with their infantry and cavalry, forming, in the whole, a body of troops, not inferior in number to the Roman army. But of the foreign auxiliaries it is impoſſible to ſpeak with preciſion. They were ſhifted from place to place, with numbers now augmented, and now reduced, as occaſion required; and, by conſequence, an accurate eſtimate cannot be expected.

VI. To this ſurvey of the empire if we add a view of the conſtitution, and the manner in which the government was adminiſtered by Tiberius, from the beginning of his reign to the preſent year, the fatal æra of tyranny and oppreſſion, the enquiry will not be foreign to our purpoſe. In the firſt place, not only the affairs of ſtate, but all queſtions of importance between the citizens of Rome, were referred to the wiſdom of the ſenate. The leading members of that aſſembly claimed and exerciſed full freedom of debate; and when they deviated into flattery, the prince was ſure

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ſure to reject the nauſeous ſtrain. In diſpenſing the honours of government, he had an eye to nobility of birth, to perſonal merit, and to talents as well civil as military. His choice, it was generally agreed, was made with judgment. The conſuls and the prætors enjoyed the ancient honours of their rank and dignity. The ſubordinate magiſtrates exerciſed their functions without controul. The laws, if we except thoſe of violated majeſty *(a)*, flowed in their regular channel. The tributes and duties, whether of corn or money, were managed by commiſſioners choſen *(b)* from the Roman knights. The revenues appropriated to the prince were conducted by men of diſtinguiſhed probity, and frequently by ſuch, as were known to Tiberius by their character only. Being once appointed, they were never removed. Several, it is well known, grew grey in the ſame employment. The people, it is true, often complained of the price of corn; but the grievance was not imputable to the emperor. To prevent the conſequences of unproductive ſeaſons, or loſſes at ſea, he ſpared neither money nor attention. In the provinces no new burthens were impoſed, and the old duties were collected without cruelty or extortion. Corporal puniſhment was never inflicted, and confiſcation of men's effects was a thing unknown.

VII. In Italy the land-property of the emperor was inconſiderable. Good order prevailed among his ſlaves. His freedmen were few, and his houſehold was managed with œconomy. In all queſtions of right between the emperor and individuals, the courts of juſtice were open, and the law decided. And yet to this equitable ſyſtem he did not know how to add a gracious manner: the auſterity of his countenance ſtruck men with terror. He continued, however, in the practice of rigid, though not amiable, manners, till the death of Druſus *(a)*. While that prince

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ſurvived, Sejanus thought it prudent to advance by ſlow degrees. He dreaded the reſentment of a young man, who did not ſeek to diſguiſe his paſſions, but complained aloud, "that the em-"peror, though he had a ſon to ſucceed him, preferred a ſtranger "to a ſhare in the adminiſtration. How little was that upſtart "miniſter removed from being a colleague in the empire! "The road of ambition is at firſt a ſteep aſcent; but the diffi-"culty once ſurmounted, the paſſions of deſigning men liſt in "the enterpriſe, and tools and agents are ready at hand. The "favourite is already maſter of a camp, and the ſoldiers wait his "nod. Among the monuments of Pompey we beſiold his ſtatue: "the grand-children of this new man will be allied in blood to "the family of Druſus *(b)*. What remains, but humbly to hope "that he will have the modeſty to ſtop in his career, content "with what he has already gained?" Such was the diſcourſe of Druſus, not occaſional, but conſtant; not in private circles, but at large, and without reſerve. His inmoſt ſecrets were alſo known: his wife had forfeited her honour, and was now a ſpy upon her huſband.

VIII. In this poſture of affairs, Sejanus thought he had no time to loſe. He choſe a poiſon, which, operating as a ſlow corroſive, might bring on the ſymptoms of a natural diſorder. Lygdus, the eunuch (as was diſcovered eight years afterwards), *(a)* adminiſtered the draught. While Druſus lay ill, Tiberius, never ſeeming to be in any degree alarmed, or, it may be, willing to make a diſplay of magnanimity, went as uſual to the ſenate. Even after the prince expired, and before the funeral ceremony was performed, he entered the aſſembly of the fathers. Perceiving the conſuls, with dejected looks, ſeated on the ordinary benches, like men who mourned for the public loſs, he put them in mind of their dignity, and their proper ſtation.

The ſenate melted into tears: but Tiberius, ſuperior to the weakneſs of nature, delivered an animated ſpeech, in a flowing ſtyle, and a tone of firmneſs. "He was not," he ſaid, "to be "informed that his appearance might be thought unſeaſonable in "the moment of recent affliction, when, according to the general "cuſtom, the mind, enfeebled with ſorrow, can ſcarce endure "the conſolation of friends, and almoſt loathes the light of "the ſun. Thoſe tender emotions were the condition of huma-"nity, and, therefore, not to be condemned. For his part, he "ſought a manly remedy; in the embraces of the common-"wealth, and in the boſom of the fathers, he came to lay down "his ſorrows. He lamented the condition of his mother, droop-"ing under the infirmities of age, the tender years of his grand-"ſons, and his own ſituation, now in the decline of life. The "children of Germanicus, in the preſent diſtreſs, were the only "remaining hopes of the people. He deſired that they might "be brought before the fathers."

The conſuls went forth to meet the princes. Having prepared their tender minds for ſo auguſt a ſcene, they preſented them to the emperor. Tiberius, taking them by the hand, addreſſed the ſenate: "Theſe orphans, conſcript fathers, I deli-"vered into the care of their uncle; and, though he was bleſſed "with iſſue, I deſired that he would cheriſh them as his "own, and train them up in a manner worthy of himſelf and "of poſterity. But Druſus is no more: I now turn to you, "and, in the preſence of the gods, in the hearing of my country, "I implore you, take under your protection the great grand-"children of Auguſtus; adopt the iſſue of an illuſtrious line; "ſupport them, raiſe them, mould them at your pleaſure for the "good of the ſtate; perform at once my duty and your own. "As for you, Nero, and you, Druſus, in this aſſembly you "be-

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"behold your fathers: born as you are in the higheſt ſtation, "your lot is ſuch, that nothing good or evil can befal you, with- "out affecting, at the ſame time, the intereſt of the common- "wealth."

IX. THIS ſpeech drew tears from the whole aſſembly: vows and ſupplications followed. Had Tiberius known where to ſtop, inſtead of adding what exceeded the bounds of probability, every heart would have been touched with ſympathy, and every mind impreſſed with the glory of the prince. But by recurring to the ſtale and chimerical project, ſo often heard with deriſion, the project of abdicating the ſovereignty, and reſigning the reins of government to the conſuls, or any other perſon willing to undertake the taſk, he weakened the force of ſentiments in themſelves juſt and honourable. The ſolemnities which had been decreed to the memory of Germanicus, were renewed in honour of Druſus, with conſiderable additions, agreeable to the genius of flattery, always ſtudious of novelty. The funeral ceremony was diſtinguiſhed by a long train of illuſtrious images. In the proceſſion were ſeen Æneas, the father of the Julian race; the Alban kings; Romulus, the founder of Rome; the Sabin nobility, with Attus Clauſus *(a)* at their head, and from him the whole line of the Claudian family.

X. IN this account of the death of Druſus, the beſt and moſt authentic hiſtorians have been my guides. A report, however, which gained credit at the time, and has not yet died away, ought not to be omitted. It was currently ſaid, that Sejanus, having gained the perſon and the heart of Livia, proceeded to a foulet intrigue with Lygdus the eunuch, and, by an infamous amour, drew to his intereſt that tool of iniquity, who was one of the domeſtic attendants of Druſus, and, for his youth and the graces

of

of his perſon, high in favour with his maſter. The time and place for adminiſtering the poiſon being ſettled by the conſpirators, Sejanus had the hardihood to change his plan. He contrived, by ſecret inſinuations, to charge Druſus with a plot againſt his father's life, and dared to whiſper a caution to Tiberius, not to taſte the firſt cup that ſhould be offered to him at his ſon's table. Deceived by this ſtroke of perfidy, the old man received the cup, and preſented it to his ſon. The prince, with the frankneſs and gaiety of youth, drank it off: but that alacrity ſerved only to confirm the ſuſpicions entertained by the emperor. His concluſion was, that Druſus, overwhelmed with fear and ſhame, was in haſte to give himſelf the death, which he had prepared for his father.

XI. A REPORT of this kind, current among the populace, but unſupported by any good authority, cannot ſtand the teſt of examination. What man of plain common-ſenſe, not to ſpeak of a conſummate ſtateſman like Tiberius, would preſent inevitable death to his only ſon, without ſo much as hearing him, and thus precipitately commit a fatal deed, never to be recalled? Would it not have been more natural to put the cup-bearer to the torture? Why not enquire who mixed the liquor? Above all, is it probable that Tiberius, ever ſlow and indeciſive, would at once forget the habits of his nature, and, in the caſe of an only ſon, a ſon too never charged with any crime, act with a degree of raſhneſs, which he had never practiſed to the remoteſt ſtranger? The truth is, Sejanus was known to be capable of every ſpecies of villany, however atrocious: the partiality of the emperor increaſed the number of his enemies; and, both the ſovereign and the favourite being objects of public deteſtation, malignity itſelf could frame no tale ſo black, and even improbable, that men were not willing to believe.

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The death of princes is always variouſly reported, and common fame is ſure to add a tragic cataſtrophe. Some years afterwards, the particulars of the murder were brought to light by Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and confirmed by Eudemus and Lygdus on the rack. In the number of hiſtorians, who were envenomed againſt Tiberius, and with diligence collected anecdotes to wage eternal war againſt his memory, not one has gone ſo far as to impute to him a ſhare in this foul tranſaction. The ſtory, however, ſuch as it is, I have repreſented in its native colours, willing to flatter myſelf that, by ſo glaring an inſtance, I may deſtroy the credit of fabulous narrations *(a)*, and prevail with the reader, into whoſe hands this work may fall, not to prefer the fictions of romance, however greedily ſwallowed by vulgar credulity, to the preciſion of ſober hiſtory.

XII. TIBERIUS, in a public ſpeech, delivered the funeral panegyric of his ſon *(a)*. The ſenate and the people attended in their mourning garments; but their grief was mere outward ſhow, the effect of diſſimulation, not of ſentiment. They rejoiced in ſecret, conceiving that from this event the houſe of Germanicus would begin to flouriſh. But the dawn of happineſs was ſoon overclouded. The exultation of the people, and the indiſcretion of Agrippina, who had not the policy to ſuppreſs the emotions of her heart, accelerated her own ruin, and that of her ſons. Emboldened by ſucceſs, Sejanus was ready to go forward in guilt. He ſaw the murder of Druſus paſs with impunity, and even without a ſign of public regret. Succeſsful villany inſpired him with new courage. He ſaw that the ſons of Germanicus were the preſumptive heirs of Tiberius, and, for that reaſon, began to plot their deſtruction. Being three in number, they could not all be taken off by poiſon, while a ſet of

faithful attendants watched them with a vigilant eye, and the virtue of Agrippina was impregnable.

That very virtue was, therefore, to be turned againſt her. Sejanus called it pride and contumacy. By repeated invectives he roufed the inveterate hatred of the elder Livia; and the younger of the name, ſo recently an accomplice in the murder of Druſus, was eaſily induced to join in a ſecond conſpiracy. They repreſented Agrippina to Tiberius as a woman proud of her children, intoxicated with popularity, and of a ſpirit to engage in any dangerous enterpriſe. The widow of Druſus knew how to chooſe fit agents for her purpoſe. Among her inſtruments of iniquity was Julius Poſthumus, a man high in favour with the elder Livia. He had been for ſome time engaged in an adulterous commerce with Mutilia Priſca, and, through her influence, was graciouſly received at court. By his ſubtle practices, and the whiſpers conveyed by Priſca, the old woman, naturally fond of power, and jealous of every rival, was eaſily inflamed againſt her grand-daughter. At the ſame time, ſuch of Agrippina's attendants as had eaſy acceſs to her preſence, were inſtructed to chooſe, in converſation with their miſtreſs, the topics moſt likely to exaſperate a mind fierce with pride, and ready to take fire on every occaſion.

XIII. MEANWHILE, Tiberius, hoping to find in buſineſs ſome reſpite from the anxieties of his heart, attended to the adminiſtration of juſtice in all diſputes between the citizens of Rome. He likewiſe heard petitions from the provinces and the allies. At his deſire, the cities of Cibyra *(a)* in Aſia, and Ægium in Achaia, which had ſuffered by an earthquake, were exempted from their uſual tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus, proconſul of the farther Spain, was found guilty of oppreſſion in the

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the courſe of his adminiſtration, and, being a man of ſavage manners, baniſhed to the Iſle of Amorgos. Carſius Sacerdos, accuſed of having ſupplied Tacfarinas with corn, was tried and acquitted. Caius Gracchus was charged with the ſame crime, and in like manner declared innocent. He had been carried in his infancy to the Iſle of Cercina by Sempronius Gracchus *(b)*, his father, who was condemned to baniſhment. In that place, amidſt a crew of outlaws and abandoned fugitives, he grew up in ignorance. To gain a livelihood, he became a dealer in petty merchandize on the coaſt of Africa and Sicily. His obſcurity, however, did not ſhelter him from the dangers of a higher ſtation. Innocent as he was, if Ælius Lamia *(c)* and Lucius Apronius, formerly proconſuls of Africa, had not eſpouſed his cauſe, he muſt have ſunk under the weight of the proſecution, a ſacrifice to the ſplendid name of his family, and the misfortunes of his father.

XIV. In the courſe of the year, deputations from Greece, on the old ſubject of ſanctuaries, were heard before the ſenate. The people of Samos claimed an ancient privilege for the Temple of Juno; and thoſe of Coos, for that of Æſculapius. The former relied on a decree of the Amphictyons *(a)*, the court of ſupreme authority, at the time, when colonies from Greece were in poſſeſſion of the maritime parts of Aſia. The deputies from Coos had alſo their ancient precedents, beſides a claim founded on their own peculiar merit. In the general maſſacre of the Roman citizens throughout Aſia and the iſles adjacent, committed by order of Mithridates *(b)*, they gave a refuge to numbers in the temple of Æſculapius. This buſineſs being over, the complaint againſt the licentiouſneſs of ſtage-players, often urged by the prætors, and always without effect, was taken up by Tiberius. He ſtated, "that the people of that profeſſion

"were

"were guilty of ſeditious practices, and, in many inſtances, "corrupted the morals of private families. The buffoonery of "the Oſcan farce *(c)*, which in its origin afforded but little plea- "ſure even to the dregs of the people, was now grown to ſuch a "height of depravity, as well as credit, that the miſchief called "for the interpoſition of the ſenate." The players were baniſhed out of Italy.

XV. TIBERIUS felt this year two ſevere ſtrokes of affliction: he loſt one of the twin-ſons of Druſus *(a)*, and alſo his intimate friend Lucilius Longus, a man connected with him in the cloſeſt friendſhip; in all ſcenes, either of good or adverſe fortune, his faithful companion, and, of all the ſenators, the only one that followed him in his retreat to the Iſle of Rhodes. Though of no diſtinction, and in fact a new man, his funeral was performed with the pomp belonging to the cenſorial order *(b)*; and a ſtatue was decreed to his memory in the Forum of Auguſtus, at the public expence. All buſineſs was, at this time, ſtill tranſacted in the ſenate. The forms of the conſtitution remained; and accordingly Lucilius Capito, who had been collector of the imperial revenues in Aſia, was brought to his trial before the fathers, at the ſuit of the province. Tiberius thought proper to declare, "That the commiſſion "granted to the accuſed, extended only to the ſlaves and reve- "nues of the prince. Should it appear that he aſſumed the "prætorian authority, and, to ſupport his uſurpation, called in "the aid of the military, he went beyond the line of his duty; "and, in that caſe, the allegations of the province ought to "be heard." The buſineſs came to a hearing, and Capito was condemned. The cities of Aſia, to mark their ſenſe of this act of juſtice, and their gratitude for the puniſhment of Caius Silanus *(c)* in the preceding year, voted a ſtatue to Tiberius,

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rius, to Livia, and the ſenate. They applied to the fathers for their conſent, and ſucceeded. Nero, in the name of the province, returned thanks to the ſenate and his grandfather. He was heard with pleaſure by the whole audience. Germanicus was ſtill preſent to their minds; and, in the ſon, men fancied that they ſaw and heard the father. The figure of the young prince was intereſting. An air of modeſty, united to the dignity of his perſon, charmed every eye; and the well-known animoſity of Sejanus engaged all hearts in his favour.

XVI. ABOUT this time the office of high prieſt of Jupiter became vacant by the death of Servius Maluginenſis. Tiberius, in a ſpeech to the ſenate, propoſed that they ſhould proceed to the choice of a ſucceſſor, and at the ſame time paſs a new law to regulate that buſineſs for the future. The cuſtom had been to name three patricians, deſcended from a marriage, contracted according to the rites of CONFARREATION *(a)*. Out of the number ſo propoſed, one was to be elected. "But this mode "was no longer in uſe. The ceremony of confarreation was "grown obſolete; or, if obſerved, it was by a few families only. "Of this alteration many cauſes might be aſſigned; and chiefly "the inattention of both ſexes to the intereſts of religion. The "ceremonies, it is true, are attended with ſome difficulty; and "for that reaſon they are fallen into diſuſe. Beſides this, the "prieſt ſo choſen was no longer ſubject to paternal authority; "and the woman, who gave him her hand in marriage, was "intitled to the ſame exemption. To remedy theſe inconveniences, a law is neceſſary. Many cuſtoms, that held too "much of the rigour of antiquity, were new modelled by Auguſtus in conformity to the poliſhed manners of the times."

After due deliberation, it was thought adviſable by the fathers

to

to leave the prieſthood on its old eſtabliſhment, without innovation. With regard to the prieſteſs, a new law took place. In her religious functions, it was declared, that ſhe ſhould be in the power of her huſband only, ſubject in all other reſpects to the laws of her ſex, without any privilege to diſtinguiſh her from other women. The ſon of Maluginenſis ſucceeded to his father. In order to give new weight and conſideration to the ſacerdotal order, and to inſpire the miniſters of the altar with zeal for the ſacred rites, a grant of two thouſand great ſeſterces was ordered for Cornelia, the veſtal virgin, who was at this time choſen ſuperior of the order, in the room of Scantia. In compliment to Livia it was further decreed, that, whenever ſhe viſited the theatre, her ſeat ſhould be among the veſtal virgins. A. U. C. 776. A. D. 23.

XVII. In the conſulſhip of Cornelius Cethegus and Viſellius Varro, the pontiffs, and, after their example, the other orders of the prieſthood, thought proper to blend with the ſolemn vows which they offered for the ſafety of the emperor, the names of Nero and Druſus. Zeal for the young princes was not altogether their motive: they had an indirect deſign to pay their court. But in that age the ſafe line of conduct was not eaſily ſettled. To abſtain from flattery was dangerous; and to be laviſh of it, provoked contempt, and even reſentment. Tiberius, never friendly to the houſe of Germanicus, ſaw with indignation two boys exalted to a level with himſelf. He ordered the pontiffs to attend him. In the interview that followed, he deſired to know whether, in what they had done, they complied either with the ſolicitations or the menaces of Agrippina. Being anſwered in the negative, he diſmiſſed them with a reprimand, but in gentle terms, moſt of the order being either his relations, or the firſt men in Rome. Not content, however, A. U. C. 777. A. D. 24.

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however, with expreſſing his diſapprobation in private, he deſired, in a ſpeech to the ſenate, that all might be upon their guard, not to inflame the minds of young men with ideas of power, and, by conſequence, with a ſpirit above their ſtation. Sejanus was the prompter in this buſineſs. He had the ear of the emperor, and filled him with apprehenſions that Rome was divided into factions, inflamed againſt each other with no leſs fury than if they were actually engaged in a civil war. There were thoſe, he ſaid, who called themſelves the partiſans of Agrippina: if not ſuppreſſed, they would in time become too powerful. To check the growing diſcord, there was nothing left but to cut off one or two of the moſt active leaders.

XVIII. The firſt blow was ſtruck at Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. Their connection with Germanicus was their crime; but Silius was obnoxious for various reaſons. He had been, during a ſpace of ſeven years, at the head of a powerful army: by his conduct in Germany he had gained triumphal ornaments; he conquered Sacrovir, and quelled the inſurrection in Gaul. Falling from that elevation, his ruin would reſound far and wide, and ſpread a general terror. His own indiſcretion was thought at the time to have incenſed Tiberius, and, by conſequence, it provoked his fate. Succeſs inſpired him with vain glory. He boaſted, that the army under his command continued in firm fidelity, while ſedition raiſed her ſtandard in every other camp; and if the ſpirit of revolt had reached his legions, the imperial dignity would have tottered on the head of the prince. Tiberius took the alarm: he thought his own importance leſſened, and his fortune, great as it was, unable to recompenſe ſuch extraordinary ſervices. He felt himſelf under obligations to his officer; and obligations (ſuch is the nature of the human mind)

mind) are only then acknowledged, when it is in our power to requite them: if they exceed all meaſure, to be inſolvent is painful, and gratitude gives way to hatred.

XIX. SOSIA GALLA, the wife of Silius, was cloſely connected with Agrippina, and, for that reaſon, deteſted by Tiberius. She and her huſband were doomed to fall an immediate ſacrifice. Sabinus was reſerved for a future day. Againſt the two former Varro, the conſul, undertook the deſpicable part of public proſecutor. Pretending to adopt the reſentments of his father, he became the ſervile agent of Sejanus. Silius requeſted that the trial might be deferred, till the conſul, now turned accuſer, ſhould ceaſe to be in office. Though the interval was ſhort, Tiberius oppoſed the motion, alleging, that men were frequently arraigned by the other magiſtrates; and why abridge the authority of the conſul? It is his duty to take care that the commonwealth may receive no injury. Such was the ſtate-craft of Tiberius: to crimes invented by himſelf he gave the old republican names, and by that artifice amuſed the public.

The ſenate was ſummoned with regular ſolemnity, as if the proceeding was to be according to law; as if Varro was, in truth, acting the part of conſul, and in the reign of Tiberius the conſtitution ſtill remained in vigour. Silius made no defence. He broke ſilence, indeed, at different times, but merely to ſhew that he ſaw in what quarter the arm of oppreſſion was raiſed againſt him. The heads of the accuſation were, that, in a dark conſpiracy with Sacrovir, he concealed the machinations of that inſurgent; that his victory was tarniſhed by cruelty, and that, with his connivance, acts of rapacity and oppreſſion were committed by his wife. The laſt article was too well founded; but the proſecution went altogether on the crime of violated majeſty. Silius ſaw that his doom

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was fixed, and, to prevent final judgment, put an end to his life.

XX. THE law, notwithſtanding, laid hold of his effects; not however to make reſtitution to the Gauls; for the Gauls made no claim. The whole of what the unhappy victim had received from the bounty of Auguſtus, after an exact eſtimate made, was ſeized, and carried into the treaſury of the prince. In this inſtance, Tiberius, for the firſt time, looked with the eye of avarice on the property of others. On the motion of Aſinius Gallus, Soſia was ordered into exile. By that ſenator it was further propoſed, that part of her effects ſhould be confiſcated, and the remainder given to her children. Manius Lepidus contended, that one fourth ſhould go, as *(a)* the law directed, to the proſecutors, and the reſidue to her children. This ſentence prevailed. It is but juſtice to the character of Lepidus *(b)*, to obſerve in this place, that, conſidering the times in which he lived, he appears to have been a man of ability, temperate, wiſe, and upright. The violent meaſures often propoſed by others, always the reſult of ſervile adulation, were, by his addreſs, frequently rejected, altered, or modified, with ſo much good-ſenſe and temper, that he preſerved at once his credit at court, and the eſteem of the public.

This happineſs, ſo ſingular and ſo fairly enjoyed, arreſts our attention, and naturally raiſes an enquiry whether the favour or antipathy of princes, like all other ſublunary contingencies, is governed by the immutable laws of fate *(c)*; and, by conſequence, the lot of man may be ſaid to be determined in his natal hour. The queſtion is intricate; but perhaps free will and moral agency are ſtill ſo far allowed, that each individual may chalk out the line of his own conduct, and, by ſteering between the oppoſite

extremes of blunt auſterity and abject meanneſs, purſue a middle courſe with ſafety and with honour. Meſſalinus Cotta, a man equal in point of birth to Manius Lepidus, but of a very different character, moved for a decree, declaring that all magiſtrates, however blameleſs in their own conduct, and even ignorant of the guilt of others, ſhould, notwithſtanding, be reſponſible for the unlawful acts committed in the provinces by their wives.

XXI. THE buſineſs brought forward in the next place, was the charge againſt Calpurnius Piſo *(a)*, that illuſtrious citizen, diſtinguiſhed not more by the nobility of his birth, than by his unſhaken virtue, who, as has been related, threatened a ſeceſſion from Rome, in order to find, in ſome remote place, a ſhelter from the vices of the age, and the harpies of the law. It may be remembered, likewiſe, that, in the cauſe againſt Urgulania, he ſcorned to yield to the weight and influence of the emperor's mother, but cited the defendant from the very palace of the prince. His conduct, at the time, was treated by Tiberius as the exerciſe of a civil right; but in a mind like his, that which at firſt made a ſlight impreſſion, was ſure to be embittered by reflection. Quintus Granius was the proſecutor of Piſo. He exhibited an accuſation for words ſpoken in private againſt the majeſty of the emperor; for keeping poiſon in his houſe; and entering the ſenate with a concealed dagger. The two laſt articles, too groſs to be believed, were thrown out of the caſe. Other allegations were heaped together to ſwell the charge; and Piſo, it was determined, was to be brought to his trial: but a natural death put an end to the proſecution.

A new complaint was preſented to the ſenate againſt Caſſius Severus *(b)*, a man of mean extraction, void of principle, profligate in his manners, but an orator of conſiderable eloquence. He

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He had been, by a judgment, pronounced under the ſanction of an oath, condemned to exile in the Iſle of Crete. Perſiſting there in his licentious practices, he rekindled the indignation of the fathers, and by new vices provoked new enemies. Stripped of all his effects, and interdicted from fire and water, he was removed to the Iſle of Seriphos *(c)*, where, in old age and miſery, he languiſhed on the rocks.

XXII. ABOUT this time Plautius Silvanus, one of the prætors, impelled by ſome ſecret motive, threw his wife Apronia out of the window of her apartment, and killed her on the ſpot. Being immediately ſeized by his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, and conveyed to the preſence of the emperor, he made anſwer, with an air of diſtraction, that, while he lay aſleep, his wife committed that act of violence. Tiberius went directly to the houſe. He examined the apartment, and ſaw evident ſigns of a perſon who had ſtruggled, but was overcome by force. He made his report to the ſenate, and commiſſioners were appointed to enquire and pronounce their judgment. Urgulania, the grandmother of Silvanus, ſent a dagger to him as her beſt preſent. This, on account of her known intimacy with Livia, was ſuppoſed to proceed from Tiberius. The criminal, after attempting, but with irreſolution, to apply the dagger to his breaſt, ordered his veins to be opened. In a ſhort time afterwards Numantina, his former wife, was accuſed of having, by drugs and magic ſpells, diſtempered his brain. She was acquitted of the charge.

XXIII. THE war with Tacfarinas the Numidian, by which Rome had been long embroiled, was this year happily terminated. The former commanders, as ſoon as they had laid a foundation for the obtaining of triumphal ornaments, conſidered their buſineſs as finiſhed, and gave the enemy time to breathe. There were

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were at Rome no leſs than three ſtatues *(a)* decorated with laurel, and yet Tacfarinas ravaged the province. He was reinforced by the neighbouring Moors, who ſaw with indignation their new king, Ptolemy, the ſon of Juba *(b)*, reſign, with youthful inexperience, the reins of government to his freedmen. The malcontents of that nation went over to the banners of Tacfarinas, determined to try the fortune of war, rather than tamely ſubmit to the tyranny of enfranchiſed ſlaves. The king *(c)* of the Garamantes entered into a ſecret league with the Numidian. Not chooſing to take the field at the head of his forces, he helped to carry on a war of depredation. His dominions were a depoſitary for all their plunder. His troops went out in detached parties, and, as is uſual in all diſtant commotions, were magnified by the voice of fame into a prodigious army. Even from the *(d)* Roman province, all who ſtruggled with want, or by their crimes were rendered deſperate, went over to Tacfarinas. A recent incident encouraged the revolt. In conſequence of the ſucceſs of Blæſus, Tiberius, thinking the war at an end, ordered the ninth legion to be recalled. Dolabella, the proconſul for the year, ſaw the inexpedience of the meaſure; but, dreading the anger of Tiberius more than the incurſions of the enemy, he did not venture, even for the defence of the province, to detain the troops.

XXIV. TACFARINAS, availing himſelf of this circumſtance, ſpread a rumour round the country, that the Roman empire being invaded on every ſide, Africa, by degrees, was to be evacuated, and the remainder of the legions might be eaſily cut off, if all who preferred their liberty to ignominious bondage, would take up arms in defence of their country. He gained, by theſe artifices, a new acceſſion of ſtrength, and laid ſiege to the city of Thubuſcum. Dolabella, with what force he could collect, marched to the relief of the place. The terror of the Roman name was on

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his ſide, and the affair was with an enemy, who could never ſuſtain the ſhock of a well-embodied infantry. He no ſooner ſhewed himſelf in force, than the Numidians abandoned the ſiege. Dolabella, at all convenient places, fortified his poſts, and ſtationed garriſons to ſecure the country. Finding the Muſulanians on the point of a revolt, he ſeized their chiefs, and ordered their heads to be ſtruck off. Experience had taught him, that a regular army, encumbered with baggage, could give but a bad account of a wild and deſultory enemy, who made war by ſudden incurſions, and avoided a deciſive action: he therefore reſolved to vary his operations, and having called to his aid the young king Ptolemy, at the head of a large body of his ſubjects, he divided his army into four detached parties, under the command of his lieutenants, and the military tribunes. A choſen band of Moors, conducted by officers of that nation, had orders to ravage the country. The proconſul marched himſelf in perſon, ready at hand to direct the motions of his army, and give vigour to the enterpriſe.

XXV. INTELLIGENCE was brought ſoon after, that the Numidians, depending upon the advantages of a ſituation encompaſſed by a depth of foreſts, had pitched their huts near the ruins of a caſtle, called Auzea *(a)*, which they had formerly deſtroyed by fire. The cavalry and light cohorts, ignorant of their deſtination, were ſent forward without delay. They made a forced march in the night, and at break of day arrived before the place. The Barbarians, ſcarce awake, were alarmed on every ſide with warlike ſhouts and the clangor of trumpets. Their horſes were either faſtened to ſtakes, or let looſe to wander on the paſture grounds. The Romans advanced in order of battle, their infantry in cloſe array, and the cavalry prepared for action. The Barbarians were taken by ſurpriſe, no arms at hand, no order, no concerted meaſure. They were attacked without delay, and like a herd of cattle mangled.

mangled, butchered, taken. The Roman ſoldiers, fierce with reſentment for all their toil and fatigue, ruſhed with fury againſt an enemy, who had ſo often fled from their ſword. The victorious troops were glutted with Numidian blood. The word was given through the ranks, that Tacfarinas was the proper object of their vengeance: his perſon was well known; his death, and nothing leſs, would end the war. That daring adventurer ſaw his guards fall on every ſide. His ſon was already in fetters, and he himſelf hemmed in by the Romans. In deſpair he ruſhed forward, where the ſhower of darts was thickeſt, and, ſelling his life at the deareſt rate, had the glory of dying in freedom. This event quieted the commotions in Africa.

XXVI. For theſe ſervices Dolabella expected triumphal ornaments: but Tiberius, apprehending that Sejanus would think the honours, granted to his uncle Blæſus, tarniſhed by the ſucceſs of a rival, refuſed to comply with the requeſt. Blæſus gained no addition to his fame, while that of Dolabella grew brighter by injuſtice. With an inferior army, he had taken a number of priſoners, among whom were the leading chiefs of the nation; and, by the death of Tacfarinas, he put an end to the war. At his return from Africa, he gave a ſpectacle rarely ſeen at Rome, a train of ambaſſadors from the Garamantes! The people of that country, conſcious of their guilt, and by the death of the Numidian chief thrown into conſternation, ſent their deputies to appeaſe the reſentment of the emperor. The ſervices of king Ptolemy being ſtated to the ſenate, an ancient cuſtom, long ſince fallen into diſuſe, was revived in honour of that monarch. The fathers ſent a member of their body, to preſent *(a)* an ivory ſceptre and a painted robe, the ancient gift to kings, with inſtructions, at the ſame time, to ſalute young Ptolemy, by the titles of KING, ALLY, and FRIEND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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XXVII. DURING the ſame ſummer, a ſervile war was ready to break out in Italy; but, by a fortunate accident, the flame was ſoon extinguiſhed. The incendiary, who excited the commotion, was formerly a ſoldier in the prætorian bands, by name Titus Curtiſius. This man began his ſeditious practices in private cabals at Brunduſium, and the adjacent towns. Having made his impreſſion, he went the length of fixing up in public places ſeditious libels, inviting the agrarian ſlaves to iſſue from their woods and wilds, and take up arms in the cauſe of liberty. It happened, however, that three galleys, employed in the navigation of thoſe ſeas, arrived providentially on the coaſt. Curtius Lupus, the quæſtor, in whoſe province it was, according to ancient uſage, to ſuperintend the roads *(a)* through the foreſts, was, at that time, in the neighbourhood. He ordered the mariners to be landed, and, putting himſelf at their head, cruſhed the conſpiracy in the bud. Statius, a military tribune, had been, on the firſt alarm, diſpatched by Tiberius with a ſtrong band of ſoldiers. He arrived in good time, and, having ſeized the chief conſpirators with their leader, returned to Rome with his priſoners bound in chains. The capital, at that time, was far from being in a ſtate of tranquillity. Men ſaw, with terror, a vaſt multitude of ſlaves increaſing *(b)* beyond all proportion, while the number of freeborn citizens was viſibly on the decline.

XXVIII. DURING the ſame conſulſhip, a ſcene of horror, that gave a ſhock to nature, and marked the cruelty of the times, was acted in the face of the world. A father pleaded for his life, while his ſon ſtood forth the accuſer. The name of each was Vibius Serenus *(a)*. They appeared before the ſenate. The father had been baniſhed. He was now dragged from his retreat, deformed with filth, and loaded with irons; a ſpectacle of miſery. The ſon came forward in trim apparel, eaſe in his mien, and alacrity in his countenance.

tenance. He charged the old man with a conſpiracy againſt the life of the emperor, and with ſending emiſſaries into Gaul to kindle the flame of rebellion: and thus the ſon acted in a double character, at once the accuſer, and the witneſs. He added, that Cæcilius Cornutus, of prætorian rank, ſupplied the accomplices with money. Cornutus, weary of life, and knowing that a proſecution was a prelude to deſtruction, laid violent hands on himſelf. Serenus, on the contrary, with a ſpirit undiſmayed, fixed his eye on his ſon, and clanking his chains, exclaimed, "Reſtore me, juſt and vindictive gods! reſtore me to my place "of baniſhment, far from the ſight of men, who ſuffer ſuch an "outrage to humanity. For that parricide, may your vengeance, "in due time, overtake his guilt." He pronounced Cornutus an innocent man, but deſtitute of courage, weak, and eaſily alarmed. He deſired that the confederates in the plot might be named, and, by a minute enquiry, the truth, he ſaid, would be brought to light. "For can it be, that, with only one accomplice, I ſhould undertake "to imbrue my hands in the blood of the emperor, and to over-"turn the government?"

XXIX. The informer gave in the names of Cneius Lentulus and Seius Tubero. The mention of thoſe men threw Tiberius into confuſion. They were both of illuſtrious rank, both his intimate friends. That Lentulus in the evening of his days, and Tubero drooping under bodily infirmity, ſhould be charged with meditating an inſurrection in Gaul, and a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, made a deep impreſſion on his ſpirits. Againſt them no further enquiry was made. The ſlaves of the aged father were examined on the rack, and, by their teſtimony, every allegation was refuted. The ſon, overwhelmed with a ſenſe of his guilt, and terrified by the indignation of the populace, who threatened *(a)* the dungeon, the Tarpeian rock, and all the pains and penalties of

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of parricide, made his eſcape from Rome. He was retaken at Ravenna, and carried back to proceed in his accuſation, and gratify the ſpleen of Tiberius, who hated the old man, and, upon this occaſion, did not diſguiſe his rancour. Vibius, it ſeems, ſoon after the condemnation of Libo *(b)*, complained by letter to the emperor, that his ſervices in that buſineſs had not been duly recompenſed. The ſtyle of his remonſtrance was more free and bold, than can with ſafety be addreſſed to the proud ear of power, at all times ſenſibly alive to every expreſſion, and eaſily alarmed. At the diſtance of eight years Tiberius ſhewed that he had been ruminating miſchief. The intermediate time, he ſaid, though no proof could be extorted from the ſlaves, was paſſed by the priſoner in a continued ſeries of atrocious crimes.

XXX. THE queſtion being put, the majority was for a capital puniſhment, according to the rigour of ancient law. Tiberius, to ſoften popular prejudice, oppoſed ſo harſh a ſentence. Aſinius Gallus moved that Serenus ſhould be baniſhed to the Iſle of Gyarus or Donuſa. This alſo was oppoſed by the emperor. In thoſe iſlands there was a dearth of water; and when life is granted, the means of ſupporting it ought to follow. The old man was remanded to the iſland of Amorgos. As Cornutus had diſpatched himſelf, a motion was made, that whenever the perſon accuſed of violated majeſty, prevented judgment by a voluntary death, the informers ſhould be entitled to no reward *(a)*. The fathers inclined to that opinion; but Tiberius, in plain terms, without his uſual ambiguity, ſhewed himſelf the patron of the whole race of informers. "The courſe of juſtice," he ſaid, "would be ſtopt, "and, by ſuch a deciſion, the commonwealth would be brought "to the brink of ruin. It were better to abrogate all laws at "once. If we muſt have laws, let us not remove the vigilance "that gives them energy." In this manner that pernicious crew, the

the bane and ſcourge of ſociety, who, in fact, have never been effectually reſtrained, were now let looſe, with the wages of iniquity in view, to haraſs and deſtroy their fellow citizens.

XXXI. THROUGH the cloud of theſe tempeſtuous times a gleam of joy broke forth. Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, was convicted for being author of defamatory verſes againſt the emperor; but at the interceſſion of his brother, a member of the ſenate, Tiberius pardoned the offence. This act of lenity, ſtanding in contraſt to a ſeries of evil deeds, made men wonder, that he, who knew the fair renown that waits on the virtues of humanity, ſhould perſevere in the practice of cruelty and oppreſſion. Want of diſcernment was not among the faults of Tiberius; nor was he miſled by the applauſe of temporizing courtiers. Between the praiſe which adulation offers, and that which flows from ſentiment, a mind like his could eaſily diſtinguiſh. His own manner marked his ſenſe of good and evil. Though cloſe and guarded on moſt occaſions, even to a degree of heſitation, it was remarkable, that, when he meant a generous act, his language was fluent, clear, and unequivocal.

In a matter that came on ſoon after, againſt Publius Suilius *(a)*, formerly quæſtor under Germanicus, and now convicted of bribery in a cauſe where he ſat in judgment, the emperor, not content with a general ſentence of baniſhment out of Italy, inſiſted that he ought to be confined to an iſland. This deciſion he urged in a tone of vehemence, averring, with the ſolemnity of an oath, that the intereſt of the commonwealth required it. And yet this proceeding, condemned, at the time, as harſh and violent, was, in a ſubſequent reign, allowed to be founded in juſtice. Suilius was recalled by Claudius. He then announced his real character; proud, imperious, corrupt, and venal: high in favour with the reigning

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reigning prince, and using his influence for the worſt of purpoſes. Catus Firmius was, in like manner, condemned, on a charge of having maliciouſly accuſed his ſiſter on the law of majeſty. It was this man, as has been related, who firſt deceived the unſuſpecting Libo *(b)*, and then betrayed him to his ruin. For that ſacrifice of all truth and honour, Tiberius was not ungrateful. To reward his ſervices, yet pretending to act with other motives, he over-ruled the ſentence of baniſhment, but agreed that he ſhould be expelled the ſenate.

XXXII. THE tranſactions hitherto related, and thoſe which are to follow, may, I am well aware, be thought of little importance, and beneath the dignity of hiſtory. But no man, it is preſumed, will think of comparing theſe Annals with the hiſtorians of the old republic. Thoſe writers had for their ſubject, wars of the greateſt magnitude; cities taken by ſtorm; kings overthrown, or led in captivity to Rome: and when from thoſe ſcenes of ſplendour they turned their attention to domeſtic occurrences, they had ſtill an ample field before them; they had diſſenſions between the conſuls and the tribunes; they had agrarian laws, the price of corn, and the populace and patrician order inflamed with mutual animoſity. Thoſe were objects that filled the imagination of the reader, and gave free ſcope to the genius of the writer. The work, in which I am engaged, lies in a narrow compaſs; the labour is great, and glory there is none. A long and ſettled calm, ſcarce lifted to a tempeſt; wars no ſooner begun than ended; a gloomy ſcene at home, and a prince without ambition, or even a wiſh to enlarge the boundaries of the empire: theſe are the ſcanty materials that lie before me. And yet materials like theſe are not to be undervalued; though ſlight in appearance, they ſtill merit attention, ſince they are often the ſecret ſpring of the moſt important events.

XXXIII. If we conſider the nature of civil government, we ſhall find, that, in all nations, the ſupreme authority is veſted either in the people, or the nobles, or a ſingle ruler. A conſtitution *(a)* compounded of theſe three ſimple forms, may in theory be beautiful, but can never exiſt in fact; or, if it ſhould, it will be but of ſhort duration. At Rome, while the republic flouriſhed, and the ſenate and the people gained alternate victories over each other, it was the buſineſs of the true politician, to ſtudy the manners and temper of the multitude, in order to reſtrain within due bounds a tumultuous and diſcordant maſs; and, on the other hand, he who beſt knew the ſenate, and the characters of the leading members, was deemed the moſt accompliſhed ſtateſman of his time. At preſent, ſince a violent convulſion has overturned the old republic, and the government of Rome differs in nothing from a monarchy *(b)*, the objects of political knowledge are changed, and, for that reaſon, ſuch tranſactions as it is my buſineſs to relate, will not be without their uſe. Few are qualified, by their own reflection, to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To ſeparate the uſeful from that which leads to deſtruction, is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the ſchool of wiſdom.

It muſt however be acknowledged, that the detail into which I am obliged to enter, is in danger, while it gives leſſons of prudence, of being dry and unentertaining. In other hiſtories, the ſituation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illuſtrious generals, awaken curioſity, and enlarge the imagination. We have nothing before us, but acts of deſpotiſm, continual accuſations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial ending always in the ſame tragic cataſtrophe. Theſe, no doubt, will give to the preſent work a tedious uniformity, without an object to enliven attention, without an incident to prevent

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ſatiety. It may be further obſerved, that the ancient hiſtorian is ſafe from the ſeverity of criticiſm: whether he favours the cauſe of Rome or of Carthage, the reader is indifferent to both parties; whereas the deſcendants of thoſe who, in the reign of Tiberius, were either put to death, or branded with infamy, are living at this hour; and beſides, if the whole race were extinct, will there not be at all times a ſucceſſion of men, who, from congenial manners, and ſympathy in vice, will think the fidelity of hiſtory a ſatire on themſelves? Even the praiſe due to virtue is ſure to give umbrage. The illuſtrious character is brought too near to the depravity of modern times. The contraſt is too ſtrong for tender eyes. But I return from this digreſſion.

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XXXIV. DURING the conſulſhip of Cornelius Coſſus and Aſinius Agrippa, a new, and, till that time, unheard of crime was laid to the charge of Cremutius Cordus *(a)*. He had publiſhed a ſeries of annals. In that work, after the encomium of Brutus, he ſtyled Caſſius *(b)* the laſt of Romans. For this ſentiment a proſecution was commenced againſt the author by Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, both known to be the creatures of Sejanus. That circumſtance was of itſelf ſufficient; but the ſtern countenance, with which Tiberius heard the defence, was a fatal prognoſtic. With a ſpirit, however, prepared for the worſt, and even reſolved on death, Cordus ſpoke to the following effect. "The charge, conſcript fathers, is for words only; ſo irreproach-"able is my conduct. And what are my words? Do they affect "the emperor, or his mother, the only perſons included in the "law of majeſty? It is, however, my crime, that I have treated "the memory of Brutus and Caſſius with reſpect: and have not "others done the ſame? In the number of writers, who com-"poſed the lives of thoſe eminent men, is there one who has not "done honour to their memory? Titus Livius, that admirable

"hiſtorian,

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" hiſtorian, not more diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence than by his " fidelity, was ſo laviſh in praiſe of Pompey, that Auguſtus called " him the *Pompeian:* and yet the friendſhip of that emperor was " unalterable. Scipio, and Afranius, with this ſame Brutus, and " this very Caſſius, are mentioned by that immortal author, not " indeed as *(c)* RUFFIANS and PARRICIDES (the appellations now " in vogue); but as virtuous, upright, and illuſtrious Romans. In " the works of Aſinius Pollio their names are decorated with every " praiſe. Meſſala Corvinus boaſted that Caſſius was his general. " And yet thoſe two diſtinguiſhed writers flouriſhed in the eſteem " of Auguſtus, and enjoyed both wealth and honours. Cicero " dedicated an entire volume to the memory of Cato. What was " the conduct of Cæſar, the dictator? He contented himſelf with " writing an anſwer, in effect, appealing to the tribunal of the " public. The letters of Mark Anthony, as well as the ſpeeches " of Brutus, abound with paſſages againſt Auguſtus, falſe indeed, " but in a ſtyle of bitter invective. The verſes of Bibaculus and " Catullus, though keen lampoons on the family of the Cæſars, " are in every body's hands. Neither Julius Cæſar nor Auguſtus " ſhewed any reſentment againſt theſe envenomed productions: " on the contrary, they left them to make their way in the world. " Was this their moderation, or ſuperior wiſdom? Perhaps it was " the latter. Neglected calumny ſoon expires: ſhew that you are " hurt, and you give it the appearance of truth.

XXXV. " FROM Greece I draw no precedents. In that " country not only liberty, but even licentiouſneſs was encouraged. " He who felt the edge of ſatire, knew how to retaliate. Words " were revenged by words. When public characters have paſſed " away from the ſtage of life, and the applauſe of friendſhip, as " well as the malice of enemies, is heard no more; it has ever " been the prerogative of hiſtory to rejudge their actions. Brutus

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" and Caſſius are not now at the head of armies: they are not " encamped on the plains of Philippi: can I aſſiſt their cauſe? " Have I harangued the people, or incited them to take up " arms? It is now more than ſixty years ſince thoſe two " extraordinary men periſhed by the ſword: from that time, " they have been ſeen in their buſts and ſtatues: thoſe remains " the very conqueror ſpared, and hiſtory has been juſt to their " memory. Poſterity allows to every man his true value and " his proper honours. You may, if you will, by your judg- " ment affect my life: but Brutus and Caſſius will be ſtill re- " membered, and my name may attend their triumph." Having thus delivered his ſentiments, he left the ſenate, and *(a)* by abſtinence put an end to his days.

The fathers ordered his book to be burnt by the ædiles; but to deſtroy it was not in their power *(b)*. It was preſerved in ſecret, and copies have been multiplied; ſo vain and ſenſeleſs is the attempt, by an arbitrary act, to extinguiſh the light of truth, and defraud poſterity of due information. Genius thrives under oppreſſion: perſecute the author, and you enhance the value of his work. Foreign tyrants, and all who have adopted their barbarous policy, have experienced this truth: by proſcribing talents, they recorded their own diſgrace, and gave the writer a paſſport to immortality.

XXXVI. THE whole of this year was one continued ſeries of proſecutions; inſomuch that on one of the days of the Latin feſtival *(a)*, when Druſus, in his character of præfect of Rome, aſcended the tribunal, Calpurnius Salvianus took that opportunity to preſent an accuſation againſt Sextus Marius. A proceeding ſo irregular drew down the cenſure of Tiberius. Salvianus was driven into baniſhment. A complaint againſt the inhabitants of

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of the city of Cyzicus was preſented to the ſenate, charging, that they had ſuffered the ceremonies in honour of Auguſtus to fall into contempt, and had, moreover, offered violence to ſeveral Roman citizens. For this offence they were deprived of the privileges, which had been granted to them for their fidelity in the war with Mithridates. That monarch laid ſiege to their city; but, by the fortitude of the people, not leſs than by the ſuccour ſent by Lucullus, he was obliged to abandon the place. Fonteius Capito, who had been proconſul of Aſia, was acquitted of the charge alleged againſt him by the malice of that daring accuſer, Vibius Serenus *(b)*. And yet the author of ſo vile a calumny paſſed with impunity. He had the curſes of the people, and the protection of the emperor. Informers, in proportion as they roſe in guilt, became ſacred characters. If any were puniſhed, it was only ſuch as were mere novices in guilt, obſcure and petty villains, who had no talents for miſchief.

XXXVII. AMBASSADORS, about this time, arrived from the further Spain, praying leave, in imitation of the people of Aſia, to build a temple to the emperor and his mother. Tiberius had ſtrength of mind to deſpiſe the offerings of adulation: he knew, however, that his conduct on a former occaſion had been taxed with the littleneſs of vain glory. To clear himſelf from that aſperſion, he made the following ſpeech. "I am not, conſcript "fathers, now to learn that, when a ſimilar petition came from "Aſia, I was accuſed of weakneſs and irreſolution, for not giving "a decided negative. The ſilence which I then obſerved, and "the law which I have laid down to myſelf for the future, it "is my intention now to explain. Auguſtus, it is well known, "permitted a temple to be raiſed at Pergamus, in honour of "himſelf and the city of Rome. His example has ever been "the rule of my conduct. I yielded to the ſolicitations of Aſia,

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"the more willingly, as with the veneration offered to myſelf, "that of the ſenate was mixed and blended. That ſingle act "of compliance may perhaps require no apology: but to be "deified throughout the provinces, and intrude my own image "among the ſtatues of the gods, what were it but vain pre-"ſumption, the height of human arrogance? Erect more altars, "and the homage paid to Auguſtus will be no longer an honour "to his memory: by promiſcuous uſe, it will tarniſh in the eyes "of mankind, and vaniſh into nothing.

XXXVIII. "As to myſelf, conſcript fathers, I pretend to "nothing above the condition of humanity: a mortal man, I "have the duties of our common nature to perform. Raiſed "to a painful pre-eminence, if I ſuſtain the arduous character "impoſed upon me, the meaſure of my happineſs is full. Theſe "are my ſentiments; I avow them in your preſence, and I "hope they will reach poſterity. Should future ages pronounce "me not unworthy of my anceſtors; ſhould they think me "vigilant for the public good, in danger firm, and, for the "intereſt of all, ready to encounter perſonal animoſities, that "character will be the bright reward of all my labours. Thoſe "are the temples which I wiſh to raiſe: they are the trueſt "temples, for they are fixed in the heart. It is there I would "be worſhipped, in the eſteem and the affections of men, that "beſt and moſt laſting monument. Piles of ſtone and marble "ſtructures, when the idol ceaſes to be adored, and the judg-"ment of poſterity riſes to execration, are mere charnel-houſes, "that moulder into ruin.

"I therefore now addreſs myſelf to the allies of the empire, "to the citizens of Rome, and to the immortal gods: to the "gods it is my prayer, that to the end of life they may grant "the

"the bleſſing of an undiſturbed, a clear, a collected mind, with "a juſt ſenſe of laws both human and divine. Of mankind I "requeſt, that, when I am no more, they will do juſtice to "my memory; and, with kind acknowledgments, record my "name, and the actions of my life." In theſe ſentiments he perſiſted ever after. Even in private converſation he never ceaſed to declaim againſt the abuſe of religious honours. For this ſelf-denial various motives were aſſigned. Some called it modeſty; others, a ſenſe of his own demerit; many imputed it to a degenerate ſpirit, inſenſible to all fair and honourable diſtinctions. The love of glory, they obſerved, has ever been the incentive of exalted minds. It was by this principle, that Hercules and Bacchus enrolled themſelves among the gods of Greece; and it was thus that Romulus was deified at Rome. Auguſtus made a right eſtimate of things, and, by conſequence, aſpired to rank himſelf with ancient worthies. With regard to other gratifications, princes are in a ſtation, where to deſire, is to have. But the paſſion for glory ought to be inſatiable. The eſteem of poſterity is the true ambition of a prince. From the contempt of fame *(a)* ariſes a contempt of virtue.

XXXIX. SEJANUS, intoxicated with ſucceſs, and hurried on by the importunity of the younger Livia *(a)*, who was grown impatient for the promiſed marriage, thought fit to open the buſineſs to the emperor. All applications, at that time, even when a perſonal interview took place, were preſented to the prince in writing *(b)*. The purport of the memorial was, that "the mu-"nificence of Auguſtus to the petitioner, and the favours added "by Tiberius, had ſo engroſſed all his faculties, that he was "now accuſtomed, inſtead of ſupplicating the gods, to offer up "his prayers to the prince. Of rank and ſplendour he had "never been ambitious: a poſt of difficulty, where he watched "day

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" day and night like a common ſentinel, to guard the life of " his ſovereign, was the only honour he had ever ſought. " And yet a mark of the higheſt diſtinction had been conferred " upon him. The emperor deemed him worthy of an alliance " with the imperial houſe *(c)*. His preſent hopes were built " on that foundation. Having heard that Auguſtus *(d)*, when " the marriage of his daughter was in contemplation, doubted, " for ſome time, whether he ſhould not give her to a Roman " knight; he preſumed to offer his humble requeſt, that Tibe- " rius, if a new match was deſigned for Livia, would graciouſly " think of a friend, who would bear in mind a due ſenſe of the " favour conferred upon him, but never claim an exemption " from the toil and duty of his poſt. To ſhelter his family " from the animoſity of Agrippina was the object he had in " view. He felt for his children; but as to himſelf, if he died " in the ſervice of his prince, he ſhould die content and full " of years."

XL. TIBERIUS expreſſed himſelf pleaſed with the ſtyle of affection that breathed through the memorial. He mentioned, in a curſory manner, the favours he had granted, but deſired time for the conſideration of a ſubject ſo entirely new and unexpected. Having weighed the buſineſs, he returned the following anſwer: " In all matters of deliberation, ſelf-intereſt is the principle by " which individuals decide for themſelves: with princes it is " otherwiſe. The opinions of the people claim their attention, " and public fame muſt direct their conduct. To the requeſt " which had been made, an obvious anſwer preſented itſelf to " his pen: he might obſerve, that it was for Livia to determine, " whether ſhe would contract another marriage, or be content " to remain the widow of Druſus. He might add, that ſhe had " a mother *(a)* and a grandmother, more nearly connected than " him-

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" himſelf, and, for that reaſon, fitter to be conſulted. But he " would deal openly, and in terms of plain ſimplicity. And " firſt, as to Agrippina; her reſentments would break out with " redoubled violence, if, by the marriage of Livia, ſhe ſaw the " imperial family divided into contending factions. Even at " preſent, female jealouſies made a ſcene of tumult and diſ- " traction. His grandſons were involved in their diſputes. " Should the marriage be allowed, perpetual diſcord might be " the conſequence.

" Do you imagine, Sejanus, that Livia, the widow firſt of " Caius Cæſar, and ſince of Druſus, will act an humble part, and " waſte her life in the embraces of a Roman knight? Should " I conſent, what will be ſaid by thoſe who ſaw her father, her " brother, and the anceſtors of our family, inveſted with the " higheſt honours of the ſtate? But it ſeems you will not aſpire " above your preſent ſtation. Remember that the magiſtrates, " and the firſt men in Rome, who beſiege your levee, and in " every thing defer to your judgment; remember, I ſay, that " they now proclaim aloud, that you have already ſoared above " the equeſtrian rank, and enjoy higher authority than was ever " exerciſed by the favourites of my father. They declaim againſt " you with envy, and they obliquely glance at me. But Au- " guſtus, you ſay, had thoughts of giving his daughter to one " of the equeſtrian order. And if, overwhelmed by a weight " of cares, yet ſenſible at the ſame time of the honour that would " accrue to the favoured bridegroom, he mentioned occaſionally " Caius Proculeius *(b)*, and ſome others, is it not well known " that they were all of moderate principles; men who led a " life of tranquillity, and took no part in the tranſactions of the " ſtate? And if Auguſtus had his doubts, is it for me to take a " decided part? His final determination is the true precedent.

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"He gave his daughter firſt to Agrippa, and afterwards to myſelf. Theſe are the reflections which I thought proper to communicate to you. My friendſhip is without diſguiſe. To the meaſures which you and Livia may have concerted, no obſtacle ſhall ariſe from me. But ſtill there are other ties by which I would bind you to myſelf *(c)* in cloſer union. I will not at preſent enlarge on the ſubject. I ſhall only ſay, that I know no honour to which you are not entitled by your virtues, and your zeal for my intereſt. But what I think and feel on this head I ſhall take occaſion to explain to the ſenate, or, it may be, in a full aſſembly of the people."

XLI. ALARMED by this anſwer, Sejanus dropped all thoughts of the marriage. A crowd of apprehenſions ruſhed upon him. He feared the penetrating eye of malicious enemies; he dreaded the whiſpers of ſuſpicion, and the clamours of the public. To prevent impreſſions to his diſadvantage, he preſented a ſecond memorial, humbly requeſting that the emperor would pay no regard to the ſuggeſtions of ill deſigning men. Between two nice and difficult points the favourite was now much embarraſſed. If, for the ſake of a more humble appearance, he determined to avoid for the future the great conflux of viſitors, who frequented his houſe, his power, in a ſhort time, would be in its wane; and on the other hand, by receiving ſuch a numerous train, he gave acceſs to ſpies upon his conduct. A new expedient occurred to him. He reſolved to perſuade the emperor to withdraw from the city, and lead, in ſome delightful, but remote, ſituation, a life of eaſe and ſolitary pleaſure. In this meaſure he ſaw many advantages. Acceſs to the prince would depend on the miniſter; all letters conveyed by the ſoldiers would fall into his hands; and Tiberius, now in the vale of years, might be, when charmed with his retreat, and lulled to repoſe and indolence, more eaſily

induced to reſign the reins of government. In that retirement, the favourite would diſengage himſelf from the vain parade of crowded levees; envy would be appeaſed; and, inſtead of the ſhadow of power, he might graſp the ſubſtance. To this end, Sejanus affected to diſreliſh the noiſe and buſtle of the city; the people aſſembling in crowds gave him diſguſt; and the courtiers, who buzzed in the palace, brought nothing but fatigue and vain parade. He talked of the pleaſures of rural ſolitude, where there was nothing but pure enjoyment, no little anxieties, no tedious languor, no intrigues of faction; a ſcene of tranquillity, where important plans of policy might be concerted at leiſure.

XLII. It happened in this juncture that the trial of Votienus Montanus *(a)*, a man famous for his wit and talents, was brought to a hearing. In the courſe of this buſineſs, Tiberius, with a mind already balancing, came to a reſolution to avoid, for the future, the aſſembly of the fathers, where he was ſo often mortified by grating expreſſions. Montanus was accuſed of words injurious to the emperor: Æmilius, a man in the military line, was a witneſs againſt him. To eſtabliſh the charge, this man went into a minute detail, from little circumſtances hoping to deduce a full conviction. Though ill heard by the fathers, he perſiſted, in ſpite of noiſe and frequent interruption, to relate every circumſtance. Tiberius heard the ſarcaſtic language with which his character was torn and mangled in private. He roſe in a ſudden tranſport of paſſion, declaring, in a peremptory tone, that he would refute the calumny in that ſtage of the buſineſs, or inſtitute a judicial proceeding for the purpoſe. The entreaties of his friends, ſeconded by the adulation of the fathers, were ſcarce ſufficient to appeaſe his anger. The judgment uſual in caſes of violated majeſty was pronounced againſt Montanus *(b)*.

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Want of clemency was the general objection to Tiberius; but the reproach, inſtead of mitigating, ſerved only to inflame that vindictive temper. With a ſpirit exaſperated, he took up the affair of Aquilia, convicted of adultery with Varius Ligur; and though Lentulus Gætulicus, conſul elect, was of opinion that the penalties *(c)* of the Julian law would be an adequate puniſhment, ſhe was ordered into exile. Apidius Merula had refuſed to ſwear on the acts of Auguſtus. For that offence Tiberius razed his name from the regiſter of the ſenators *(d)*.

XLIII. THE diſpute then depending between the Lacedæmonians and the people of Meſſena, concerning the temple of the Limnatidian Diana *(a)*, was brought to a hearing before the ſenate. Deputies were heard from both places. On the part of the Lacedæmonians it was contended, that the ſtructure in queſtion was built by their anceſtors, within the territory of Sparta. For proof of the fact, they cited extracts from hiſtory, and paſſages of ancient poetry. In the war with Philip of Macedon, they were deprived of their right by force of arms; but the ſame was reſtored by Julius Cæſar and Mark Anthony. The Meſſenians, on the other hand, produced an ancient chart of Peloponneſus, divided among the deſcendants of Hercules; by which it appeared, that the Dentheliate field, where the temple ſtood, fell to the lot of the king of Meſſena. Inſcriptions, verifying the fact, were ſtill to be ſeen in ſtone and tables of braſs. If fragments of poetry and looſe ſcraps of hiſtory were to be admitted, they had, in that kind, a fund of evidence more ample, and directly in point. It was not by an act of violence that Philip of Macedon transferred the poſſeſſion from Sparta to the Meſſenians; his juſtice dictated that deciſion. Since that time, ſeveral judgments, all conſpiring to the ſame effect, were pronounced by king Antigonus *(a)*, by Mummius *(c)*, the Roman general,

general, by the Mileſians, in their capacity of public arbitrators, and finally by Atidius Geminus, then prætor of Achaia *(d)*. The Meſſenians carried their point.

The citizens of Segeſtum *(e)* preſented a petition, ſtating that the Temple of Venus, on mount Erix, had mouldered away, and therefore praying leave to build a new edifice on the ſame ſpot. Their account of the firſt foundation was ſo highly flattering to the pride of Tiberius, that, conſidering himſelf as a perſon related to the goddeſs, he undertook the care and expence of the building.

A petition from the city of Marſeilles came next into debate. The fact was ſhortly this: Vulcatius Moſchus, baniſhed by the laws of Rome, and admitted to the freedom of the city of Marſeilles, bequeathed to that republic, which he conſidered as his native country, the whole of his property. To juſtify this proceeding, the Marſeillians cited the caſe of Publius Rutilius *(f)*, an exile from Rome, and afterwards naturalized by the people of Smyrna. The authority of the precedent was admitted, and the fathers pronounced in favour of the will.

XLIV. In the courſe of the year died Cneius Lentulus *(a)* and Lucius Domitius, two citizens of diſtinguiſhed eminence. The conſular dignity, and the honour of triumphal ornaments, for a complete victory over the Getulians, gave luſtre to the name of Lentulus: but the true glory of his character aroſe from the dignity, with which he ſupported himſelf, firſt in modeſt poverty, and afterwards in the poſſeſſion of a ſplendid fortune, acquired with integrity, and enjoyed with moderation. Domitius *(b)* owed much of his conſequence to his anceſtors. His father, during the civil wars, remained maſter of the ſeas till

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till he went over to Mark Anthony, and, ſoon after deſerting his party, followed the fortunes of Auguſtus. His grandfather fell in the battle of Pharſalia, fighting for the ſenate. Domitius, thus deſcended, was deemed worthy of the younger Antonia, the daughter of Mark Anthony, by his wife Octavia. He led the Roman legions beyond the Elbe *(c)*, and penetrated further into Germany than any former commander. His ſervices were rewarded with triumphal ornaments.

Lucius Antonius *(d)*, who likewiſe died this year, muſt not be omitted. He was deſcended from a line of anceſtors, highly honoured, but unfortunate. His father, Julius Antonius, being put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the ſon, at that time of tender years, and grand nephew to Auguſtus, was ſent out of the way to the city of Marſeilles, where, under the pretence of purſuing his ſtudies, he was detained in actual baniſhment. Funeral honours were paid to his memory, and his remains, by a decree of the ſenate, were depoſited in the monument of the Octavian family.

XLV. WHILE the ſame conſuls continued in office, a deed of an atrocious nature was committed in the nethermoſt Spain *(a)* by a peaſant from the diſtrict of Termes. Lucius Piſo, the prætor of the province, in a period of profound peace, was travelling through the country, unguarded, and without precaution, when a deſperate ruffian attacked him on the road, and, at one blow, laid him dead on the ſpot. Truſting to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, the aſſaſſin made towards the foreſt, and, there diſmounting, purſued his way on foot over devious wilds and craggy ſteeps, eluding the vigilance and activity of the Romans. He did not, however, remain long concealed. His horſe was found in the woods, and being led through the neighbouring villages, the name

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name of the owner was ſoon diſcovered. The villain of courſe was apprehended. On the rack, and under the moſt excruciating torture, he refuſed to diſcover his accomplices. With a tone of firmneſs, and in his own language, "Your queſtions," he ſaid, "are all in vain. Let my aſſociates come; let them "behold my ſufferings and my conſtancy: not all the pangs "you can inflict, ſhall wreſt the ſecret from me." On the following day, as they were again dragging him to the rack, he broke, with a ſudden exertion, from the hands of the executioner, and daſhing with violence againſt a ſtone, fell and expired. The murder of Piſo was not thought to be the ſingle crime of this bold aſſaſſin: the inhabitants of Termes, it was generally believed, entered into a conſpiracy to cut off a man, who claimed reſtitution of the public money, which had been reſcued from the collectors. Piſo urged his demand with more rigour than ſuited the ſtubborn genius of a ſavage people.

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XLVI. LENTULUS GÆTULICUS and Caius Calviſius ſucceeded to the conſulſhip. During their adminiſtration, triumphal ornaments were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for his victory over the people of Thrace; a clan of freebooters, who led a ſavage life on hills and rugged cliffs, without laws, or any notion of civil policy. Ruſhing down from their mountains, they waged a deſultory war with wild ferocity. Their motives to a revolt were ſtrong and powerful. They ſaw the flower of their youth carried off to recruit the Roman armies, and of courſe their numbers much reduced. Men, who meaſured their obedience, even to their own kings, by the mere caprice of Barbarians, were not willing to ſubmit to the Roman yoke. On former occaſions, when they were willing to act as auxiliaries, they gave the command of their forces to chiefs of their own nation, under an expreſs condition, that they ſhould ſerve againſt the

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the neighbouring ſtates only, and not be obliged to fight the battles of Rome in diſtant regions. In the preſent juncture an idea prevailed amongſt them, that they were to be exterminated from their native ſoil, and mixed with other troops in foreign nations.

Before they had recourſe to arms, they ſent a deputation to Sabinus, ſtating "their former friendſhip, and the paſſive diſ-"poſition with which they had, heretofore, ſubmitted to the "Roman generals. They were willing to continue in the ſame "ſentiments, provided no new grievance gave them cauſe of "complaint. But if the intention was to treat them as a van-"quiſhed people; if the yoke of ſlavery was prepared for their "necks, they abounded with men and ſteel, and they had hearts "devoted to liberty or death." Their ambaſſadors, after thus declaring themſelves, pointed to their caſtles on the ridge of hills and rocks, where they had collected their families, their parents, and their wives. If the ſword muſt be drawn, they threatened a campaign big with danger, in its nature difficult, fierce, and bloody.

XLVII. SABINUS, wiſhing to gain ſufficient time for the aſſembling of his army, amuſed them with gentle anſwers. Meanwhile, Pomponius Labeo, with a legion from Mæſia, and Rhæmetalces, who reigned over part of Thrace, came up with a body of his ſubjects, who ſtill retained their fidelity, and formed a junction againſt the rebels. Sabinus, thus reinforced, went in queſt of the enemy. The Barbarians had taken poſt in the woods and narrow defiles. The bold and warlike ſhewed themſelves in force on the declivity of the hills. The Roman general advanced in regular order of battle. The mountaineers were put to flight, but with inconſiderable loſs. The nature of the place favoured

their retreat. Sabinus encamped on the ſpot deſerted by the enemy, and, having raiſed entrenchments, marched with a ſtrong detachment to an adjacent hill, narrow at the top, but, by a level and continued ridge, extending to a ſtrong hold, where the Barbarians had collected a prodigious multitude, ſome provided with arms, but the greater part no better than an undiſciplined rabble.

The braveſt of the malecontents appeared on the outſide of their lines, according to the cuſtom of Barbarians, dancing in wild diſtortion, and howling ſavage ſongs. The Roman archers advanced to attack them. They poured in a volley of darts, and wounded numbers with impunity, till, having approached too near, the beſieged made a ſally from the caſtle, and threw the Romans into diſorder. An auxiliary cohort, which had been poſted to advantage, came up to ſupport the broken ranks. This body of reſerve conſiſted of the Sicambrians *(a)*, a wild ferocious people, who, like the Thracians, ruſhed to battle with the mingled uproar of a ſavage war-whoop, and the hideous clangor of their arms.

XLVIII. SABINUS pitched a new camp near the fortifications of the caſtle. In the former entrenchments he left the Thracians, who had joined the army under the command of Rhæmetalces, with orders to ravage the country, and, as long as daylight laſted, to plunder, burn, and deſtroy; but, during the night, to remain within their lines, taking care to ſtation outpoſts and ſentinels, to prevent a ſurpriſe. Theſe directions were at firſt duly obſerved; but a relaxation of diſcipline ſoon took place. Enriched with booty, the men gave themſelves up to riot and diſſipation; no ſentinels fixed, and no guard appointed, the time was ſpent in carouſals, and their whole camp lay buried

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in ſleep and wine. The mountaineers, having good intelligence from their ſcouts, formed two ſeparate diviſions; one to fall on the roving freebooters, and the other, in the ſame moment, to ſtorm the Romans in their entrenchments; not, indeed, with hopes of carrying the works, but chiefly to ſpread a double alarm, and cauſe a ſcene of wild confuſion, in which the men, amidſt a volley of darts, would be intent on their own immediate danger, and none would liſten to the uproar of another battle. To augment the terror, both aſſaults began in the night. No impreſſion was made on the legions: but the Thracian auxiliaries, ſtretched at eaſe in their entrenchments, or idly wandering about on the outſide of the lines, were taken by ſurpriſe, and put to the ſword without mercy. The ſlaughter raged with greater fury, as the mountaineers thought they were executing an act of vengeance on perfidious men, who deſerted the common cauſe, and fought to enſlave themſelves and their country.

XLIX. On the following day Sabinus drew up his men on the open plain, expecting that the events of the preceding night would encourage the Barbarians to hazard a battle. Seeing that nothing could draw them from their works, or their faſtneſſes on the hills, he began a regular ſiege. A number of forts were thrown up with all expedition, and a foſſe, with lines of circumvallation, incloſed a ſpace of four miles round. To cut off all ſupplies of water and proviſions, he advanced by degrees, and, raiſing new works, formed a cloſe blockade on every ſide. From a high rampart the Romans were able to diſcharge a volley of ſtones, and darts, and firebrands. Thirſt was the chief diſtreſs of the mountaineers. A ſingle fountain was their only reſource. The men who bore arms, and an infinite multitude incapable of ſervice, were all involved in one general calamity. The diſtreſs was ſtill increaſed by the famine that raged among the

3 horſes

horſes and cattle, which, without any kind of diſtinction, according to the cuſtom of Barbarians, lay intermixed with the men. In one promiſcuous heap were to be ſeen the carcaſes of animals, and the bodies of ſoldiers who periſhed by the ſword, or the anguiſh of thirſt. Clotted gore, and ſtench, and contagion filled the place. To complete their miſery, internal diſcord, that worſt of evils, added to the horror of the ſcene. Some were for laying down their arms; others, preferring ſelf-deſtruction, propoſed a general maſſacre; while a third party thought it better to ſally out, and die ſword in hand, fighting in the cauſe of liberty; a brave and generous counſel, different, indeed, from the advice of their comrades, but worthy of heroic minds.

L. THE expedient of ſurrendering at diſcretion was adopted by one of the leading chiefs. His name was Dinis; a man advanced in years, and by long experience convinced as well of the clemency as the terror of the Roman name. To ſubmit, he ſaid, was their only remedy; and, accordingly, he threw himſelf, his wife, and children, on the mercy of the conqueror. He was followed by the weaker ſex, and all who preferred ſlavery to a glorious death. Two other chiefs, by name Tarſa and Tureſis, adviſed bolder meaſures. Between their oppoſite ſentiments the young and vigorous were divided. To fall with falling liberty was the reſolution of both; but they choſe different modes. Tarſa declared for immediate death, the end of all hopes and fears; and, to lead the way, he plunged a poignard in his breaſt. Numbers followed his example. Tureſis was ſtill reſolved to ſally out; and, for that purpoſe, he waited for the advantage of the night. The Roman general received intelligence, and, accordingly, ſtrengthened the guards at every poſt. Night came on, and brought with it utter darkneſs and tem-

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peſtuous weather. With ſhouts and horrible howlings, followed at intervals by a profound and awful ſilence, the Barbarians kept the beſiegers in a conſtant alarm. Sabinus rounded the watch, and at every poſt exhorted his men to be neither terrified by ſavage howlings, nor lulled into ſecurity by deceitful ſtillneſs. If taken by ſurpriſe, they would give to an inſidious enemy every advantage. "Let each man continue fixed at his poſt, "and let no darts be thrown at random, and, by conſequence, "without effect."

LI. THE Barbarians, in different diviſions, came ruſhing down from their hills. With maſſy ſtones, with clubs hardened by fire, and with trunks of trees, they attempted to batter a breach in the Roman paliſade; they threw hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies into the trenches; they laid bridges over the foſſe, and applied ſcaling ladders to the rampart; they graſped hold of the works; they endeavoured to force their way, and fought hand to hand. The garriſon drove them back with their javelins, beat them down with their bucklers, and overwhelmed them with huge heaps of ſtones. Both ſides fought with obſtinate bravery; the Romans, to complete a victory almoſt gained already, and to avoid the diſgrace of ſuffering it to be wreſted from them. On the part of the Barbarians, deſpair was courage; the laſt ſtruggle for life inſpired them, and the ſhrieks of their wives and mothers rouſed them to deeds of valour.

The darkneſs of the night favoured equally the coward and the brave. Blows were given at random, and where they fell was uncertain; wounds were received, no man could tell from whom. Friends and enemies were mixed without diſtinction. The ſhouts of the Barbarians, reverberated from the neigh-

bouring hills, ſounded in the ear of the Romans, as if the uproar was at their backs. They thought the enemy had ſtormed the entrenchments, and they fled from their poſts. The Barbarians, however, were not able to force the works. The number that entered was inconſiderable. At the dawn of day they beheld a melancholy ſpectacle; the braveſt of their comrades either diſabled by their wounds, or lying dead on the ſpot. Diſheartened at the ſight, they fled to their fortifications, and were at laſt compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. The people in the neighbourhood made a voluntary ſubmiſſion. The few that ſtill held out, were protected by the ſeverity of the winter, which ſetting in, as is uſual near Mount Hæmus, with intenſe rigour, the Roman general could neither attack them in their faſtneſſes, nor reduce them by a ſiege.

LII. At Rome, in the mean time, the imperial family was thrown into a ſtate of diſtraction. As a prelude to the fate of Agrippina, a proſecution was commenced againſt Claudia Pulchra, her near relation. Domitius Afer *(a)* was the proſecutor; a man who had lately diſcharged the office of prætor, but had not riſen to any degree of eminence or conſideration in the ſtate. Aſpiring, bold, and turbulent, he was now determined to advance himſelf by any means, however flagitious. The heads of his accuſation were adultery with Furnius; a deſign to poiſon the emperor, and the ſecret practice of ſpells and magic incantations. The haughty ſpirit of Agrippina but ill could brook the danger of her friend. She ruſhed to the preſence of Tiberius. Finding him in the act of offering a ſacrifice to the manes of Auguſtus, ſhe accoſted him in a tone of vehemence. "The piety," ſhe ſaid, "which thus employs itſelf in ſlaying victims to the deceaſed em-
"peror, agrees but ill with the hatred that perſecutes his poſterity.
"Thoſe are ſenſeleſs ſtatues which you adore; they are not ani-
"mated

[redacted] with the ſpirit of Auguſtus. His deſcendants are living
" images of him; and yet even they, whoſe veins are warm with
" his celeſtial blood, ſtand trembling on the brink of peril. Why
" is Claudia Pulchra devoted to deſtruction? What has ſhe com-
" mitted? She has loved Agrippina, to exceſs has loved her; that
" is her only crime. Improvident woman! ſhe might have re-
" membered Soſia *(b)*, undone and ruined for no other reaſon."
Tiberius felt the reproach: it drew from that inſcrutable breaſt a ſudden burſt of reſentment. He told Agrippina, in a Greek verſe, "You are hurt, becauſe you do not reign *(c)*." Pulchra and Furnius were both condemned. In the conduct of the proſecution Domitius Afer ſhone forth with ſuch a flame of eloquence, that he ranked at once with the moſt celebrated orators, and, by the ſuffrage of Tiberius, was pronounced an original genius, depending on his own native energy. From that time, he purſued the career of eloquence, ſometimes engaged on the ſide of the accuſed, often againſt them, and always doing more honour to his talents, than to his moral character. As age advanced upon him, the love of hearing himſelf talk continued, when the ability was gone *(d.)* He remained, with decayed faculties, a ſuperannuated orator.

LIII. AGRIPPINA, weakened by a fit of illneſs, but ſtill retaining the pride of her character, received a viſit from Tiberius. She remained for ſome time fixed in ſilence; tears only forced their way. At length, in terms of ſupplication, mixed with bitter reproaches, ſhe deſired him to conſider, "that widowhood
" is a ſtate of deſtitution. A ſecond marriage might aſſuage her
" ſorrows. The ſeaſon of her youth was not entirely paſſed, and
" for a woman of honour there was no reſource but in the con-
" jugal ſtate. There were at Rome citizens of illuſtrious rank,
" who would, with pride, take the widow and the children of
" Ger-

"Germanicus to their protection." Tiberius ſaw in this requeſt a ſpirit of ambition, that looked proudly towards the imperial dignity. Unwilling, notwithſtanding, to diſcover his jealouſy, he heard her with calm indifference, and left her without an anſwer. For this anecdote, not to be found in the hiſtorians of the time, I am indebted to the younger Agrippina *(a)*, the mother of the emperor Nero, who, in the memoirs of her life, has related her own misfortunes and thoſe of her family.

LIV. THE violence of Agrippina's paſſions, and the imprudence of her conduct, expoſed her to the malice of Sejanus, who now had laid the ſeed-plots of her deſtruction. He ſent his agents to inform her, under a maſk of friendſhip, that ſhe would do well to beware of poiſon, and avoid eating at the emperor's table. To diſſemble was not the talent of Agrippina. Invited by Tiberius, and placed near his perſon, ſhe remained ſilent, penſive, with downcaſt eyes, abſtaining from every thing placed before her. Tiberius marked her behaviour, or perhaps the hint was previouſly given. To put her to the teſt, he praiſed the apples that ſtood near him, and helped her with his own hand. Agrippina was alarmed. Without ſo much as taſting the fruit, ſhe gave it to the ſervants to be conveyed away *(a)*. Tiberius, always maſter of himſelf, with ſeeming inadvertence overlooked her behaviour, but took an opportunity to ſay privately to his mother, "Should this woman be treated with ſeverity, will any body won-"der, when ſhe now imputes to me the guilt of dealing in poiſon?" A report prevailed ſoon after, that the fate of Agrippina was determined; but the emperor would not venture to act with open violence: he knew that the public eye was upon him, and reſolved, for that reaſon, to lie in wait for a clandeſtine murder.

LV. To check the murmurs of ſuſpicion, and draw the public attention

attention to other objects, Tiberius once more attended the debates of the fathers, and gave audience for ſeveral days to the ambaſſadors from different parts of Aſia, all with ardour claiming a right to build, in their reſpective territories, the temple already mentioned. Eleven cities rivalled each other, not in power and opulence, but with equal zeal contending for the preference. They ſtated, with little variation, the antiquity of their origin, and their fidelity to Rome, in the various wars with Perſius *(a)*, Ariſtonicus, and other eaſtern princes. The people of Hypæpes *(b)*, the Trallians, Laodiceans, and Magneſians, were deemed unequal to the expence, and, for that reaſon, thrown out of the caſe. The inhabitants of Ilium *(c)* boaſted that Troy was the cradle of the Roman people, and on that foundation reſted their pretenſions. The citizens of Halicarnaſſus *(d)* held the ſenate for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. It was alleged on their behalf, that, during a ſeries of twelve hundred years, they had not felt the ſhock of an earthquake, and they promiſed to build the edifice on a ſolid rock. The city of Pergamus made a merit of having already built a temple in honour of Auguſtus; but that diſtinction was deemed ſufficient. At Epheſus, where Diana was adored, and at Miletus, where Apollo was worſhipped, a new object of veneration was deemed unneceſſary.

The queſtion was now reduced to the cities of Sardes and Smyrna. The former read a decree, in which they were acknowledged by the Etrurians as a kindred nation. By this document it appeared, that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, both ſons of king Atys *(e)*, finding their country overſtocked with inhabitants, agreed to form a ſeparation. Lydus continued to occupy his native territory, and Tyrrhenus withdrew to ſettle a new colony. From that time the two nations were called by the names of their reſpective chiefs; in Aſia, Lydians; Tyrrhenians in Italy. The Lydians

Lydians multiplied their numbers with ſuch increaſe, that they overflowed a ſecond time. A migration paſſed over into Greece, and from Pelops, their leader, gave to the new territory the name of Peloponneſus. Beſides theſe vouchers, the people of Sardes produced letters from ſome of the Roman generals, and alſo treaties of alliance during the wars in Macedonia. Nor did they forget to ſtate the number of rivers that fertilized their ſoil, the temperature of their climate, and the plenty that covered the face of the country.

LVI. THE deputies from Smyrna *(a)* thought fit to grace their cauſe with the antiquity of their origin: but whether their city was founded by Tantalus, the ſon of Jupiter; by Theſeus, the ſon of a god; or by one of the ancient Amazons, they left as a queſtion of curioſity; relying more on their conſtant attachment to the Romans, whom they had aſſiſted with a naval force, not only in their wars with foreign nations, but in thoſe that involved all Italy. They thought it of moment to obſerve, that, of all the cities in Aſia, they were the firſt that built a temple in honour of the Roman name. This they had done in the conſulſhip of Marcus Porcius Cato *(b)*, at a time when the republic was undoubtedly in a flouriſhing condition, but had not yet attained that meridian ſplendor, which afterwards followed the ſucceſs of her arms. Carthage *(c)* ſtill ſubſiſted, and the kings of Aſia were unſubdued. For proof of ſtill greater merit, the deputies appealed to the teſtimony of Lucius Sylla. When the legions under that commander, well nigh reduced to a famine by the ſeverity of the winter, and diſtreſſed for want of clothing, were in danger of being deſtroyed, their condition was no ſooner known at Smyrna, than the people, then aſſembled in a public convention, with one generous impulſe, threw off their clothes, and ſent them to ſupply the neceſſities of the Roman army. The queſtion was

thereupon put by the ſenate, and the city of Smyrna prevailed. Villius Marſus moved, that, in aid to Marcus Lepidus, who had obtained the province by lot, an officer extraordinary ſhould be
26. put in commiſſion, to ſuperintend the building of the temple. The delicacy of Lepidus not permitting him to chooſe his coadjutor, the names of ſuch as were of prætorian rank were drawn by lot, and the chance fell on Valerius Naſo.

LVII. In this juncture, Tiberius, bent on the meaſure which he had often ruminated, and as often procraſtinated, ſet out for Campania, under the plauſible pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Auguſtus at Nola, but, in truth, determined never to return to Rome. Relying on the authority of eminent hiſtorians, I have aſcribed the ſecret cauſe of this retreat to the artifice of Sejanus *(a)*; but when it is conſidered, that, after the downfal of that miniſter, Tiberius paſſed the ſix following years in the ſame recluſe manner, I am inclined to refer the whole to the workings of a dark and politic ſpirit, that wiſhed to hide in ſolitude the luſt and cruelty, which in his actions were too manifeſt to the world. At Rome there was a current opinion, that, towards the end of life, he was unwilling to exhibit to public view a tall emaciated figure *(b)*, a body ſinking under the weight of years, a bald head, a ſcrofulous face, and a number of blotches covered with medical applications *(c)*. It is well known, that, during his retreat at the Iſle of Rhodes, he ſhunned ſociety, and paſſed his time in ſecret gratifications. According to ſome writers, it was the domineering ſpirit *(d)* of his mother that drove him from Rome. To admit her to a ſhare in the government was not in his nature; and to exclude her altogether was not in his power, ſince it was to her that he owed his elevation. Auguſtus, it is certain, at one point of time, favoured Germanicus, the grandſon of his ſiſter, and even thought of raiſing him to the ſupreme authority;

authority; but, being governed by his wife, he gave her ſon the preference, and left Germanicus to be adopted by Tiberius. With theſe ſervices Livia taxed her ſon, and what ſhe had given, ſhe conſidered as a depoſit liable to be reſumed.

LVIII. TIBERIUS departed from Rome with a ſlender retinue. In his train were Cocceius Nerva *(a)*, a ſenator of conſular rank, celebrated for his legal knowledge; Sejanus, the favourite miniſter; and Curtius Atticus *(b)*, a Roman knight. Theſe were the only perſons of rank. The reſt were diſtinguiſhed by nothing but their literature; moſtly Greeks *(c)*, men whoſe talents amuſed him in his hours of leiſure. The profeſſors of judicial aſtrology declared their opinion, that the poſition of the planets, under which Tiberius left the capital, made his return impoſſible. This prediction gained credit, and the death of the emperor being, by conſequence, thought near at hand, numbers, who had been bold enough to circulate the rumour, brought on their own deſtruction. That the prince ſhould remain, during the ſpace of eleven years, a voluntary exile from the ſeat of government, was an event beyond the reach of human foreſight. In the end, however, the art of ſuch, as pretend to ſee into futurity, was diſcovered to be vain and frivolous. It was ſeen how nearly truth and falſehood are allied, and how much the facts, which happen to be foretold, are involved in darkneſs. That Tiberius would return no more, was a prophecy verified by the event; the reſt was altogether viſionary, ſince we find, that, long after that time, he appeared in the neighbourhood of Rome, ſometimes on the adjacent ſhore, often in the ſuburbs, and died at laſt in the extremity of old age.

LIX. WHILE the reports of the aſtrologers were ſcattered abroad, an accident, which put Tiberius in danger of his life, added to the credulity of the people, but, at the ſame time, raiſed

higher than ever in the affections and eſteem of his [redacted]. It happened, that in a cave formed by nature, at a villa [redacted] SPELUNCA *(a)*, between the Gulf of Amyclé and the hills [redacted] ADI, Tiberius was at a banquet with a party of his friends, when the ſtones at the entrance gave way on a ſudden, and cruſhed ſome of the attendants. The gueſts were alarmed, and fled for ſafety. Sejanus, to protect his maſter, fell on his knee, and with his whole force ſuſtained the impending weight. In that attitude he was found by the ſoldiers, who came to relieve the prince. From that time the power of the miniſter knew no bounds. A man, who, in the moment of danger, could ſhew ſo much zeal for his maſter, and ſo little attention to himſelf, was heard with affection and unlimited confidence. His counſels, however pernicious, were received as the dictates of truth and honour.

Towards the children of Germanicus, Sejanus affected to act with the integrity of a judge, while in ſecret he was their inveterate enemy. He ſuborned a band of accuſers; and Nero, then preſumptive heir to the empire, was the firſt devoted victim. The young prince, unhackneyed in the ways of men, modeſt in his deportment, and in his manners amiable, had not the prudence that knows how to temporize and bend to occaſions. The freedmen, and others about his perſon, eager to graſp at power, encouraged him to act with firmneſs, and a ſpirit ſuited to his rank. Such behaviour, they told him, would gratify the wiſhes of the people; the army deſired it, and the pride of Sejanus would ſoon be creſt-fallen, though at preſent he triumphed over the worn-out faculties of a ſuperannuated emperor, and the careleſs diſpoſition of a young and inexperienced prince.

LX. ROUSED by theſe diſcourſes, Nero began to throw off all

all reſerve. Guilt was foreign to his heart; but expreſſions of reſentment fell from him, inconſiderate, raſh, and unguarded. His words were caught up by ſpies about his perſon, and reported with aggravation. Againſt the malice of inſidious men the prince had no opportunity to defend himſelf. He lived in conſtant anxiety, and every day brought ſome new alarm. Some of the domeſtics avoided his preſence; others paid a formal ſalute, and coldly paſſed away; the greateſt part entered into talk, and abruptly broke off the converſation; while the creatures of Sejanus, affecting to be free and eaſy, added mockery to their arrogance.

The emperor received the prince with a ſtern countenance, or an ambiguous ſmile. Whether Nero ſpoke, or ſuppreſſed his thoughts, every word was miſconſtrued, and even ſilence was a crime. The night itſelf gave him no reſpite from his cares, no retreat from danger. His waking moments, his repoſe, his ſighs, his very dreams informed againſt him: his wife *(a)* carried the tale to her mother Livia, and the laſt whiſpered every thing to Sejanus. By that dark politician even Druſus, the brother of Nero, was drawn into the conſpiracy. To dazzle the imagination of a ſtripling, the ſplendor of empire, and the ſure ſucceſſion, when the ruin of the elder brother was completed, were held forth as bright temptations. The ſpirit of contention, common between brothers, was with Druſus an additional motive; and the partiality of Agrippina for her eldeſt ſon inflamed a young man, who was by nature violent and ambitious. Sejanus, in the mean time, while he ſeemed to cheriſh Druſus, was buſily employed in ſchemes to undermine him. He knew the haughty temper of the prince, and from the violence of his paſſions expected to derive every advantage.

LXI. TOWARDS the end of the year died two illuſtrious citizens *(a)*, Aſinius Aprippa, and Quintus Haterius. The former

honourable but not ancient family. His own character reflected luſtre on his anceſtors. Haterius *(b)* was deſcended from a race of ſenators. His eloquence, while he lived, was in the higheſt celebrity; but his writings, publiſhed ſince his death, are not regarded as monuments of genius. Warm, and rapid, he ſucceeded more through happineſs than care. Diligence and depth of thinking, which give the laſt finiſhing to other works, and ſtamp their value with poſterity, were not the talent of Haterius. His flowing period, and that harmonious cadence, which charmed in the living orator, are now no longer heard. His page remains a dead letter, without grace or energy.

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LXII. In the next conſulſhip, which was that of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, an unforeſeen diſaſter, no ſooner begun than ended, laid a ſcene of ruin equal to the havoc of the moſt deſtructive war. A man of the name of Atilius, the ſon of a freedman, undertook at Fidena *(a)* to build an amphitheatre for the exhibition of gladiators. The foundation was ſlight, and the ſuperſtructure not ſufficiently braced; the work of a man, who had neither the pride of wealth, nor the ambition to make himſelf of conſequence in a municipal town. The profit that might probably ariſe from ſuch a ſcheme, was all he had in view. The people, under the auſterity of a rigid and unſocial government deprived of their uſual diverſions, were eager for the novelty of a public ſpectacle *(b)*; and the place being at no great diſtance from Rome, a vaſt conflux of men and women, old and young, crowded together. The conſequence was, that the building, overloaded with ſpectators, gave way at once. All who were under the roof, beſides a prodigious multitude that ſtood round the place, were cruſhed under the ruins. The condition of thoſe who periſhed inſtantly, was the happieſt. They eſcaped the pangs of death, while the maimed and lacerated lingered in torment, beholding,

as

as long as day-light laſted, their wives and children in equal agony, and, during the night, pierced to the heart by their ſhrieks and groans. A calamity ſo fatal was ſoon known round the country. Crowds from all quarters went to view the melancholy ſcene. One lamented a brother, another his near relation; children wept for their parents, and almoſt all for their friends. Such as by their avocations had been led a different way, were given up for loſt. The real ſufferers were ſtill unknown, and, in that dreadful ſtate of ſuſpenſe, every boſom panted with doubt and fear.

LXIII. THE ruins were no ſooner removed, than the crowd ruſhed in to examine the place. They gathered round the dead bodies; they claſped them in their arms; they imprinted kiſſes, and often miſtook the perſon. Diſfigured faces, parity of age, and ſimilitude of form and feature, occaſioned great confuſion. Claims were made, a tender conteſt followed, and errors were acknowledged. The number of killed or maimed was not leſs than fifty thouſand *a)*. The ſenate provided by a decree, that, for the future, no man, whoſe fortune was under four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, ſhould preſume to exhibit a ſpectacle of gladiators, and that, till the foundation was examined, no amphitheatre ſhould be erected. Atilius, the builder, was condemned to baniſhment. The grandees of Rome diſplayed their humanity on this occaſion: they threw open their doors; they ordered medicines to be diſtributed, and the phyſicians attended with aſſiduity in every quarter. The city of Rome recalled, in that juncture, an image of ancient manners, when, after a battle bravely fought, the ſick and wounded were received with open arms, and relieved by the generoſity of their country.

LXIV. WHILE the public mind was ſtill bleeding for the late calamity,

calamity, a dreadful fire laid waſte a great part of the city. Mount Cœlius *(a)* was reduced to aſhes. The populace began to murmur. The year, they ſaid, was big with diſaſters, and the prince departed from Rome under an evil conſtellation. Such is the logic of the multitude: what happens by chance, they impute to deſign. To appeaſe their diſcontent, Tiberius ordered a diſtribution of money in proportion to the damage of individuals. For this act of liberality, the ſenate paſſed a vote of thanks, and the people were loud in praiſe of munificence, ſo ſeaſonably applied, and granted indiſcriminately. No man had occaſion to make intereſt; it was enough that he was a ſufferer. The fathers came to a reſolution, that Mount Cœlius, where a ſtatue of Tiberius, in the houſe of Junius the ſenator, eſcaped the fury of the flames, ſhould for the future be called Mount AUGUSTUS. A prodigy of a ſimilar nature happened in ancient times. The ſtatue *(b)* of Claudia Quinctia was ſaved twice from a general conflagration, and, on that account, placed and dedicated in the temple of the mother of the gods. The Claudian family was ever after conſidered as peculiarly favoured by heaven, and the ſpot where the gods were lately ſo propitious to Tiberius, was declared to be conſecrated ground.

LXV. IT will not perhaps be improper to mention in this place, that the mount, of which we have been ſpeaking, was, in the early ages of Rome, covered with a grove of oaks, and for that reaſon called QUERQUETULANUS. It took afterwards the name of Cœlius from Cæles Vibenna, an Etrurian chief, who marched at the head of his countrymen, to aſſiſt the Romans, and for that ſervice had the ſpot aſſigned to him as a canton for himſelf and his people. Whether this was the act of Tarquinius Priſcus, or ſome other Roman king, is not ſettled by the hiſtorians. Thus much is certain; the number tranſplanted was ſo great,

great, that their new habitation extended from the mount along the plain beneath, as far as the ſpot where the forum ſtands at preſent. From thoſe ſettlers the TUSCAN STREET derives its name *(a)*.

LXVI. THOUGH the ſufferings of the people, in their late diſtreſs, were alleviated by the bounty of the prince, and the humanity of the great, there was ſtill an evil, againſt which no remedy could be found. The crew of informers roſe in credit every day, and covered the city with conſternation. Quintilius Varus *(a)*, the ſon of Claudia Pulchra, and nearly related to the emperor, was marked out as a victim. His large poſſeſſions tempted Domitius Afer, who had already ruined the mother. The blow now aimed at the ſon, was no more than was expected from a man, who had lived in indigence, and, having ſquandered the wages of his late iniquity, was ready to find a new quarry for his avarice. But that a man like Publius Dolabella, nobly deſcended, and related to Varus, ſhould become an inſtrument in the deſtruction of his own family, was matter of wonder. The ſenate ſtopped the progreſs of the miſchief. They reſolved that the cauſe ſhould ſtand over till the emperor's return to Rome. Procraſtination was the only refuge of the unhappy.

LXVII. TIBERIUS, in the mean time, dedicated the two temples in Campania, which ſerved him as a pretext for quitting the city of Rome. That buſineſs finiſhed, he iſſued an edict, warning the neighbouring cities not to intrude upon his privacy. For better ſecurity, he placed a guard at proper ſtations, to prevent all acceſs to his perſon. Theſe precautions, however, did not content him. Hating the municipal towns, weary of the colonies, and ſick of every thing on the continent, he paſſed over to Capreæ *(a)*, a ſmall iſland, ſeparated from the promontory of Surrentum

rentum by an arm of the ſea, not more than three miles broad. Defended there from all intruſion, and delighted with the ſolitude of the place, he ſequeſtered himſelf from the world, ſeeing, as may be imagined, many circumſtances ſuited to his humour. Not a ſingle port in the channel; the ſtations but few, and thoſe acceſſible only to ſmall veſſels; no part of the iſland, where men could land unobſerved *(b)* by the ſentinels; the climate inviting; in the winter, a ſoft and genial air, under the ſhelter of a mountain, that repels the inclemency of the winds; in the ſummer, the heat allayed by the weſtern breeze; the ſea preſenting a ſmooth expanſe, and opening a view of the bay of Naples, with a beautiful landſcape on its borders: all theſe conſpired to pleaſe the taſte and genius of Tiberius. The ſcene, indeed, has loſt much of its beauty, the fiery eruptions of Mount Veſuvius *(c)* having, ſince that time, changed the face of the country.

If we may believe an old tradition, a colony from Greece was formerly ſettled on the oppoſite coaſt of Italy, and the Teleboi were in poſſeſſion of the iſle of Capreæ. Be that as it may, Tiberius choſe for his reſidence twelve different villas *(d)*, all magnificent and well fortified. Tired of public buſineſs, he now reſigned himſelf to his favourite gratifications, amidſt his ſolitary vices ſtill engendering miſchief. The habit of nouriſhing dark ſuſpicions, and believing every whiſperer, ſtill adhered to him. At Rome Sejanus knew how to practiſe on ſuch a temper; but in this retreat he governed him with unbounded influence. Having gained the aſcendant, he thought it time to fall on Agrippina and her ſon Nero, not, as heretofore, with covered malice, but with open and avowed hoſtility. He gave them a guard, under colour of attending their perſons, but in fact to be ſpies on their actions. Every circumſtance was noted; their public and their private diſcourſe, their meſſengers, their viſitors, all were cloſely watched,

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and a journal kept of petty occurrences. The agents of Sejanus, by order of their maſter, adviſed them both to fly for protection to the German army, or to take ſanctuary under the ſtatue of Auguſtus in the public forum, and there implore the protection of the ſenate and the people. The advice was rejected; but the project, as if their own, and ripe for execution, was imputed to them as a crime.

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LXVIII. JUNIUS SILANUS and Silius Nerva were the next conſuls. The year began with a tranſaction of the blackeſt dye. Titius Sabinus *(a)*, a Roman knight of high diſtinction, was ſeized with violence, and dragged to priſon. His ſteady attachment to the houſe of Germanicus was his only crime. After the death of that unfortunate prince, he continued firm to Agrippina and her children; at her houſe a conſtant viſitor; in public a ſure attendant, and, of the whole number that formerly paid their court, the only friend at laſt. His conſtancy was applauded by every honeſt mind, and cenſured by the vile and profligate. Four men of prætorian rank entered into a conſpiracy to work his ruin. Their names were Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opſius. They had all attained the prætorian rank, and now aſpired to the conſulſhip. The road to that dignity, they knew, was open to none but the creatures of Sejanus, and to the favour of that miniſter guilt was the only recommendation. The conſpirators ſettled among themſelves, that Latiaris, who had ſome connection with Sabinus, ſhould undertake to lay the ſnare, while the reſt lay in wait for evidence, determined, as ſoon as their materials were collected, to begin their ſcene of iniquity, and ſtand forth as witneſſes.

Latiaris accordingly made his approaches to Sabinus: he talked at firſt on trite and common topics, artfully making a tranſition

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to the fidelity of Sabinus, who did not, like others, follow the fortunes of a noble houſe, while fortune ſmiled, and, in the hour of adverſity, found his retreat with the reſt of the ſneaking train. He made honourable mention of Germanicus, and ſpoke of Agrippina in pathetic terms. Sabinus, with a mind enfeebled by misfortunes, and now ſoftened by compaſſion, burſt into a flood of tears. To emotions of tenderneſs reſentment ſucceeded. He talked, with indignation, of the cruelty of Sejanus, of his pride, his arrogance, and his daring ambition. The emperor himſelf did not eſcape. From this time, like men who had unboſomed their ſecrets to each other, Latiaris and Sabinus joined in the cloſeſt union. They cultivated each other's friendſhip. Sabinus ſought the company of his new confederate; he frequented his houſe, and without reſerve, in the fulleſt confidence, diſcloſed his inmoſt thoughts.

LXIX. THE conſpirators held it neceſſary, that the converſation of Sabinus ſhould be heard by more than one. A place for this purpoſe, ſecure and ſolitary, was to be choſen. To liſten behind doors, were to hazard a diſcovery; they might be ſeen, or overheard, or ſome trifling accident might give the alarm. The ſcene of action at length was fixed. They choſe the cavity between the roof of the houſe and the ceiling of the room. In that vile lurking hole, with an execrable deſign, three Roman ſenators lay concealed, their ears applied to chinks and crannies, liſtening to converſation, and by fraud collecting evidence. To complete this plan of iniquity, Latiaris met Sabinus in the ſtreet, and, under pretence of communicating ſecret intelligence, decoyed him to the houſe, and to the very room where the infamous eveſdroppers lay in ambuſh. In that receſs Latiaris entered into converſation; he recalled paſt grievances; he ſtated recent calamities, and opened a train of evils ſtill to come. Sabinus went over the ſame ground,

ground, more animated than before, and more in the detail. When griefs, which have been long pent up, once find a vent, men love to diſcharge the load that weighs upon the heart. From the materials thus collected, the conſpirators drew up an accuſation in form, and ſent it to the emperor, with a memorial, to their own diſgrace and infamy, ſetting forth the whole of their conduct. Rome was never at any period ſo diſtracted with anxiety and terror. Men were afraid of knowing each other; ſociety was at a pauſe; relations, friends, and ſtrangers, ſtood at gaze; no public meeting, no private confidence; things inanimate had ears, and roofs and walls were deemed informers.

LXX. On the calends of January, Tiberius diſpatched a letter to the ſenate, in which, after expreſſing, as uſual in the beginning of the year, his prayers and vows for the commonwealth, he fell with ſeverity on Sabinus. He charged him with a plot againſt his ſovereign, and with corrupting, for that purpoſe, ſeveral of the imperial freedmen. He concluded in terms neither dark nor ambiguous, demanding vengeance on the offender. Judgment of death was pronounced accordingly. Sabinus *(a)* was ſeized, and dragged through the ſtreets to immediate execution. Muffled in his robe, his voice almoſt ſtifled, he preſented to the gazing multitude a tragic ſpectacle. He cried out with what power of utterance he could, "Behold the "bloody opening of the year! With victims like myſelf Sejanus "muſt be glutted!" He continued to ſtruggle and throw his eyes around. Wherever he looked, to whatever ſide he directed his voice, the people ſhrunk back diſmayed; they fled, they diſappeared; the public places and the forum were abandoned; the ſtreets became a deſert. In their confuſion ſome returned to the ſame ſpot, as if willing to behold the horrid ſcene,

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ſcene, alarmed for themſelves, and dreading the crime of being terrified.

The general murmur was, "Will there never be a day un-"polluted with blood? Amidſt the rites and ceremonies of a "ſeaſon ſacred to religion, when all buſineſs is at a ſtand, and "the uſe of prophane words is by law prohibited, we hear the "clank of chains; we ſee the halter, and the murder of a "fellow-citizen. The innovation, monſtrous as it is, is a deli-"berate act, the policy of Tiberius. He means to make cruelty "ſyſtematic. By this unheard-of outrage, he gives public no-"tice to the magiſtrates, that, on the firſt day of the year, they "are to open, not only the temples and the altars, but alſo the "dungeons and the charnel-houſe." Tiberius, in a ſhort time after, ſent diſpatches to the ſenate, commending the zeal of the fathers in bringing to condign puniſhment an enemy of the ſtate. He added, that his life was embittered with anxiety, and the ſecret machinations of inſidious enemies kept him in a conſtant alarm. Though he mentioned no one by name, his malice was underſtood to glance at Nero and Agrippina.

LXXI. THE plan of this work profeſſes to give the tranſactions of the year in chronological order. If that rule did not reſtrain me, I ſhould here be tempted to anticipate the time, and, to gratify indignation, relate the vengeance that overtook Latiaris *(a)*, Opſius, and the other actors in that horrible tragedy. Some of them were reſerved for the reign of Caligula; but, even in the preſent period, the ſword of juſtice was not ſuffered to remain inactive. The fact was, Tiberius made it a rule to protect his inſtruments of cruelty; but it was alſo in his nature to be ſatiated with the arts of flagitious men: new tools of corruption

ruption liſted in his ſervice; and his former agents, worn out in guilt, neglected and deſpiſed, were caſhiered at once, and left to the reſentment of their enemies. But I forbear; the puniſhment that befel the murderers of Sabinus, and other miſcreants equally deteſtable, ſhall be ſeen in its proper place.

The emperor's letter above-mentioned being read in the ſenate, Aſinius Gallus *(b)*, whoſe ſons were nephews to Agrippina, moved an addreſs, requeſting the prince to reveal his ſecret diſquietude, that the wiſdom of the fathers might remove all cauſe of complaint. Diſſimulation was the darling practice of Tiberius, and he placed it in the rank of virtues. Hating detection, and jealous of prying eyes, he was now enraged againſt the man who ſeemed to have fathomed his latent meaning. Sejanus appeaſed his anger, not out of friendſhip to Gallus, but to leave Tiberius to the workings of his own gloomy temper. The favourite had ſtudied the genius of his maſter. He knew that he could think with phlegm, ſlow to reſolve, yet gathering rancour, and, in the end, ſure to break out with fiercer vengeance.

About this time died Julia *(c)*, the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, during that prince's reign convicted of adultery, and baniſhed to the iſle of Trimetus *(d)*, near the coaſt of Apulia. At that place ſhe languiſhed in exile during a ſpace of three-and-twenty years, a wretched dependant on the bounty of Livia, who firſt cut off the grandſons of Auguſtus, in their day of ſplendour, and then made a ſhew of compaſſion for the reſt of the family, who were ſuffered to ſurvive in miſery.

LXXII. In the courſe of this year the Friſians, a people dwelling beyond the Rhine *(a)*, broke out into open acts of hoſtility. The cauſe of the inſurrection was not the reſtleſs ſpirit

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ſpirit of a nation impatient of the yoke; they were driven to deſpair by Roman avarice. A moderate tribute, ſuch as ſuited the poverty of the people, conſiſting of raw hides for the uſe of the legions, had been formerly impoſed by Druſus *(b)*. To ſpecify the exact ſize and quality of the hide was an idea that never entered into the head of any man, till Olennius, the firſt centurion of a legion, being appointed governor over the Friſians, collected a quantity of the hides of foreſt bulls *(c)*, and made them the ſtandard both of weight and dimenſion. To any other nation this would have been a grievous burthen, but was altogether impracticable in Germany, where the cattle, running wild in large tracts of foreſt, are of prodigious ſize, while the breed for domeſtic uſes is remarkably ſmall. The Friſians groaned under this oppreſſive demand. They gave up firſt their cattle, next their lands; and finally were obliged to ſee their wives and children carried into ſlavery by way of commutation. Diſcontent and bitter reſentment filled the breaſts of injured men. They applied for redreſs, but without effect. In deſpair they took up arms; they ſeized the tax-gatherers, and hung them upon gibbets. Olennius made his eſcape. He fled for refuge to a caſtle known by the name of FLEVUM *(d)*, at that time garriſoned by a ſtrong party of Romans and auxiliaries, who were ſtationed in that quarter for the defence of the country bordering on the German Ocean.

LXXIII. INTELLIGENCE of this revolt no ſooner reached Lucius Apronius, at that time proprætor of the Lower Germany, than he drew together from the Upper Rhine a detachment of the legionary veterans, with the flower of the allied horſe and infantry. Having now two armies, he ſailed down the Rhine, and made a deſcent on the territory of the Friſians, then employed in a cloſe blockade of Flevum caſtle. To defend their country

country againſt the invaders, the Barbarians thought proper, on the approach of the Romans, to abandon the ſiege. The æſtuaries in that country, formed by the influx of the ſea, are a grand obſtacle to military operations. Apronius ordered bridges to be prepared, and cauſeways to be thrown over the marſhes. Meanwhile, the fords and ſhallows being diſcovered, he ſent the cavalry of the Caninefates *(a)* and the German infantry that ſerved under him, with orders to paſs over, and take poſt in the rear of the enemy. The Friſians, drawn up in order of battle, gave them a warm reception. The whole detachment, with the legionary horſe ſent to ſupport the ranks, was put to the rout. Apronius diſpatched three light cohorts; two more followed, and, in a ſhort time, the whole cavalry of the auxiliaries; a force ſufficient, had they made one joint attack; but coming up in ſeparate diviſions, and at different times, they were neither able to rally the broken ranks, nor, in the general panic, to make head againſt the enemy.

In this diſtreſs, Cethegus Labeo, who commanded the fifth legion, received orders to advance with the remainder of the allies. That officer ſoon found himſelf preſſed on every ſide. He ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to call forth the whole ſtrength of the army. His own legion, being the fifth, ruſhed forward to his aſſiſtance. A ſharp engagement followed. The Barbarians, at length, gave ground; and the auxiliary cohorts, faint with fatigue, and diſabled by their wounds, were reſcued from the ſword of the enemy. The Roman general neither purſued the fugitives, nor ſtaid to bury the ſlain, though a number of tribunes and officers of rank, with centurions of diſtinguiſhed bravery, lay dead on the field of battle. By deſerters intelligence was afterwards brought, that no leſs than nine hundred Romans were ſurrounded in the foreſt called BADUHENNA *(b)*, and

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after a gallant defence, which laſted till the dawn of day, were to a man cut to pieces. Another body, conſiſting of no leſs than four hundred, threw themſelves into a ſtrong manſion belonging to Cruptorix, a German chief, who had formerly ſerved in the Roman army: but this whole party, afraid of treachery, and dreading nothing ſo much as being delivered into the hands of the enemy, turned their ſwords againſt each other, and periſhed by mutual ſlaughter.

LXXIV. THE name of the Friſians was, by conſequence, celebrated throughout Germany. Tiberius, with his uſual cloſeneſs, endeavoured to conceal the loſs, aware that a war would call for a new commander, and that important truſt he was unwilling to commit to any perſon whatever. As to the ſenate; events that happened on the remote frontiers of the empire, made little impreſſion on that aſſembly. Domeſtic grievances were more intereſting: every man trembled for himſelf, and flattery was his only reſource. With this ſpirit the fathers, at a time when matters of moment demanded their attention, made it their firſt buſineſs to decree an altar to Clemency, and another to Friendſhip; both to be decorated with the ſtatues of Tiberius and Sejanus. They voted, at the ſame time, an humble addreſs, requeſting that the prince and his miniſter would condeſcend to ſhew themſelves to the people of Rome. Neither of them entered the city, nor even approached the ſuburbs. To leave their iſland on a ſailing party, and exhibit themſelves on the coaſt of Campania, was a ſufficient favour.

To enjoy that tranſient view, all degrees and orders of men, the ſenators, the Roman knights, and the populace, preſſed forward in crowds. The favourite attracted the attention of all, but was difficult of acceſs. To gain admiſſion to his preſence

was

was the work of cabal, intrigue, or connection in guilt. Sejanus felt his natural arrogance inflamed and pampered by a ſcene of ſervility ſo openly diſplayed before him. He ſaw a whole people crouching in bondage. At Rome the infamy was not ſo viſible. In a great and populous city, where all are in motion, the ſycophant may creep unnoticed to pay his homage. In a vaſt conflux, numbers are conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing; but their buſineſs, their purſuits, whence they come, and whither they are going, no man knows. On the margin of the ſea the caſe was different. Without diſtinction of rank, the nobles and the populace lay in the fields, or on the ſhore, humbly waiting, night and day, to court the ſmiles of the porter at the great man's gate, or to bear the inſolence of ſlaves in office. Even that importunity was at length prohibited. The whole herd returned to Rome; ſome, who had not been honoured with a word or a ſmile, ſinking into the loweſt dejection of ſpirits; others elate with joy, for they had ſeen the favourite, and did not then ſuſpect how ſoon that fatal connection was to overwhelm them all in ruin.

LXXV. THE year cloſed with the marriage of Agrippina *(a)*, one of the daughters of Germanicus. Tiberius gave her away in perſon to Cneius Domitius *(b)*, but ordered the nuptial ceremony to be performed at Rome. Domitius was deſcended from a ſplendid line of anceſtors, and, beſides, allied to the houſe of Cæſar. He was the grandſon of Octavia, and of courſe grand nephew to Auguſtus. By this conſideration Tiberius was determined in his choice.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK V.

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I. *THE death and character of the empreſs Livia.* II. *Tiberius grows more oppreſſive than ever, and Sejanus riſes to greater power.* III. *Tiberius, by a letter to the ſenate, accuſes Agrippina and her ſon Nero. The populace in a tumultuous manner ſurround the ſenate-houſe. The fathers proceed no farther in the buſineſs. Sejanus incenſed againſt their conduct.* V. *Tiberius writes in an angry ſtyle to the ſenate, and reſerves the affair of Agrippina for his own judgment. The apology of the ſenate.*

In this place a chaſm of near three years: the ſupplement begins with the ſection marked with figures, inſtead of the Roman numeral letters.

1. *Deſigns of Sejanus againſt Agrippina and Nero.* 2. *Violent proſecutions: Tiberius violent againſt all the friends of his mother.* 3. *Tranquillity through all the Roman provinces.* 4. *Remarkable letter from Tiberius to the ſenate.* 5. *Agrippina and Nero voted public enemies. Both taken into cuſtody. She is confined near Herculaneum. A centurion beats out her eye. She is baniſhed to Pandataria, and Nero to Pontia, where he is put to death.* 6. *Sejanus plots the ruin of Druſus, the ſecond ſon of Germanicus. He ſeduces Æmilia Lepida to join him againſt her huſband.* 7. *Druſus made a priſoner in the lower part of the palace.* 8. *Tiberius begins to ſuſpect Sejanus, but amuſes him with warm profeſſions of friendſhip.* 10. *Popularity of Sejanus: his ſtatues erected at Rome: his birth-day celebrated.*

11. *Velleius Paterculus the hiſtorian: he is the creature of Sejanus, and ſullies his hiſtory with adulation.* 13. *Tiberius ſuſpects Aſinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus, the profeſſed friends of Sejanus. The ſtratagem by which Tiberius contrives the ruin of Aſinius Gallus.* 15. *Sejanus is loaded with honours by the emperor; Livia, the widow of Druſus, given to him in marriage.* 17. *Tiberius reſolved to remove Sejanus to Rome, and for that purpoſe makes him joint conſul with himſelf. Sejanus makes his entry into Rome, and is received with demonſtrations of joy.* 20. *The cruelty of Sejanus. Death of Geminius Rufus and Priſca his wife. The conſulſhip extended by a decree to a term of five years.* 22. *Tiberius annuls the decree; he reſigns the conſulſhip, and makes Sejanus do the ſame.* 23. *Sejanus wiſhes to return to the Iſle of Capreæ; Tiberius objects to it, and ſays he means to viſit Rome.* 24. *The young Caligula raiſed to the honours of augur and pontiff. Sejanus is honoured with religious worſhip: Tiberius forbids ſuch impious mockery even to himſelf.* 26. *Sejanus driven almoſt to deſpair: he forms a conſpiracy, determined, at all events, to ſeize the reins of government. Satrius Secundus betrays him to Antonia, the ſiſter-in-law of Tiberius. Pallas, then a ſlave, but afterwards the favourite of the emperor Claudius, is ſent by Antonia to inform againſt Sejanus.* 28. *Meaſures of Tiberius to defeat Sejanus. Macro ſent to Rome to command the prætorian guards. Artful proceedings againſt Sejanus. Regulus, the conſul, and Laco, captain of the city cohorts, join againſt Sejanus, and take him into cuſtody in the ſenate-houſe.* 33. *He is dragged to priſon; inſults of the populace; his death. Decrees of the ſenate againſt his memory.* 35. *Honours decreed to Macro and Laco, but by them prudently rejected.* 37. *Junius Blæſus, uncle to Sejanus, put to death; as alſo the eldeſt ſon of Sejanus. Apicata, the firſt wife of Sejanus, but divorced from him, diſcovers the*

the particulars of the murder of Druſus by her huſband and the younger Livia, and then puts an end to her days. 38. *Death of Livia, by order of Tiberius.* 39. *His opinion of Caligula.* 40. *Acts of cruelty by Tiberius in the Iſle of Capreæ, diſplayed in various inſtances.*

43. From the end of this ſection Tacitus goes on to the end of the book.

VI. *The ſpeech of an illuſtrious ſenator, whoſe name is loſt: his fortitude, and manner of dying.* VIII. *P. Vitellius and Pomponius Secundus accuſed, but not brought to trial. Vitellius dies broken-hearted. Pomponius out-lived Tiberius.* IX. *A ſon and daughter of Sejanus, the laſt of his family, put to death by order of the ſenate.* X. *A counterfeit Druſus in Greece. The impoſtor detected by Poppæus Sabinus.* XI. *Diſſenſions between the two conſuls.*

Theſe tranſactions include three years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls.
782	29	*L. Rubellius Geminus, C. Fuſius Geminus.*
783	30	*Marcus Vinicius, L. Caſſius Longinus.*
784	31	*Tiberius 5th time, L. Ælius Sejanus.*
About the middle of May in the ſame year for three months		*Cornelius Sulla, Sexteidius Catullinus.*
From the middle of Auguſt in the ſame year		*Memmius Regulus, Fulcinius Trio.*

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I. DURING the conſulſhip of Rubellius Geminus and Fuſius *(a)*, who bore the ſame ſurname, died, in an advanced old age, the emperor's mother Livia *(b)*, ſtyled Julia Auguſta. Illuſtrious by her deſcent from the houſe of Claudius, ſhe was further ennobled by adoption into the Livian and the Julian families. She was firſt married to Tiberius Nero *(c)*, and by him was the mother of two ſons. Her huſband, when the city of Peruſia was obliged to ſurrender to the arms of Auguſtus, made his eſcape, and wandered from place to place, till the peace between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirate reſtored him to his country. Enamoured of the graceful form and beauty of Livia, Auguſtus obliged her huſband to reſign

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her to his embraces. Whether ſhe had conſented to the change, is uncertain; but the paſſion of the emperor was ſo ardent, that, without waiting till ſhe was delivered of the fruit of her womb, he conveyed her, pregnant as ſhe was, to his own houſe. By this ſecond marriage ſhe had no iſſue; but Agrippina and Germanicus *(d)* being joined in wedlock, Livia became allied to the houſe of Cæſar, and the iſſue of that match were the common great grand-children of Auguſtus and herſelf. Her domeſtic conduct was formed on the model of primitive manners; but by a graceful eaſe, unknown to her ſex in the time of the republic, ſhe had the addreſs to ſoften the rigour of ancient virtue. A wife of amiable manners, yet a proud and imperious mother, ſhe united in herſelf the oppoſite qualities that ſuited the ſpecious arts of Auguſtus, and the dark diſſimulation of her ſon. The rites of ſepulture *(e)* were performed without pomp or magnificence. Her will remained for a long time unexecuted. The funeral oration was delivered from the roſtrum by her great grandſon Caius Cæſar, afterwards Caligula, the emperor.

II. TIBERIUS did not attend to pay the laſt melancholy duties to his mother. He continued to riot in voluptuous pleaſures, but the weight of buſineſs was his apology to the ſenate. Public honours were, with great profuſion, decreed to her memory: Tiberius, under the maſk of moderation, retrenched the greateſt part *(a)*, expreſsly forbidding the forms of religious worſhip. On that point he knew the ſentiments of his mother; it was her deſire not to be deified. In the ſame letter that conveyed his directions to the ſenate, he paſſed a cenſure on the levity of female friendſhip; by that remark obliquely glancing at Fuſius the conſul, who owed his elevation to the partiality of Livia. The fact was, Fuſius had brilliant talents. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the art of recommending himſelf to the ſofter ſex.

ſex. His converſation ſparkled with wit. In his lively ſallies he did not ſpare even Tiberius himſelf, forgetting that the raillery which plays with the foibles of the great, is long remembered, and ſeldom forgiven.

III. FROM this time may be dated the æra of a furious, headlong, and deſpotic government. The rage of Tiberius knew no bounds. While his mother lived, his paſſions were rebuked, and, in ſome degree, controuled. He had been from his infancy in the habit of ſubmitting to her judgment; and to counteract her authority was more than Sejanus dared to undertake. By the death of Livia all reſtraint was thrown off. The prince and his miniſter broke out with unbridled fury. A letter was diſpatched to the ſenate, in bitter terms arraigning the conduct of Agrippina and her ſon Nero. The charge was generally ſuppoſed to have been framed, and even forwarded to Rome, during the life of Livia, but, by her influence, for that time ſuppreſſed. The violence of the proceeding, ſo ſoon after her death, gave riſe to the opinion entertained by the populace. The letter was conceived in a ſtyle of exquiſite malice, containing, however, againſt the grandſon no imputation of treaſon, no plot to levy war againſt the ſtate. The crimes objected to him were unlawful pleaſures, and a life of riot and debauchery. Agrippina's character was proof againſt the ſhafts of malice. Her haughty carriage and unconquerable pride were the only allegations that could be urged againſt her. The fathers ſat in profound ſilence, covered with aſtoniſhment. At length that claſs of men, who by fair and honourable means had nothing to hope, ſeized the opportunity to convert to their own private advantage the troubles and misfortunes of their country. A motion was made that the contents of the letter ſhould be taken into conſideration. Cotta Meſſalinus *(a)*, the moſt forward of the party, a man ever

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ready to join in any profligate vote, ſeconded the motion; but the leading members of the ſenate, particularly the magiſtrates, remained in a ſtate of doubt and perplexity. They ſaw no ground for proceeding in a buſineſs of ſo high a nature, communicated indeed with acrimony, but wanting preciſion, and ending abruptly without any clear or definite purpoſe.

IV. JUNIUS RUSTICUS, who had been appointed by the emperor to regiſter *(a)* the acts of the fathers, was, at that time, preſent in the aſſembly. From the nature of his employment he was ſuppoſed to be in the ſecrets of his maſter. He roſe on a ſudden, under the impulſe of ſome emotion unfelt before: magnanimity it was not, ſince he had never, upon any occaſion, diſcovered one generous ſentiment: perhaps he was deceived by his own political ſpeculations, in the hurry of a confuſed and tumultuous judgment anticipating future miſchief, but not attending to the combination of circumſtances, that formed the preſent criſis. Whatever might be his motive, this man joined the moderate party, and adviſed the conſul to adjourn the debate. He obſerved, that, in affairs of the greateſt moment, the ſlighteſt cauſe often produces events altogether new and unexpected. Grant an interval of time, and the paſſions of a ſuperannuated emperor may relent. The populace, in the mean time, bearing aloft the images of Nero and Agrippina, ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe. They offered up their prayers for the ſafety of the emperor, and with one voice pronounced the letter a wicked forgery, fabricated without the knowledge of Tiberius; a black contrivance to ruin the imperial family. The ſenate came to no reſolution.

When the aſſembly was adjourned, a number of fictitious ſpeeches, purporting to have been delivered by conſular ſenators,

in a ſtrain of bitter invective againſt Sejanus, were immediately written, and diſperſed among the people. In thoſe productions, the ſeveral authors, unknown and ſafe in their obſcurity, gave free ſcope to their talents, and poured forth their virulence with unbounded freedom. The artifice ſerved to exaſperate the miniſter. He charged the fathers with diſaffection; "they paid "no attention to the remonſtrances of the prince: the people "were ripe for tumult and inſurrections. A new council of "ſtate was ſet up, and the decrees of that mock aſſembly were "publiſhed with an air of authority. What now remains for "the diſcontented but to unſheath the ſword, and chooſe for "their leaders, and even proclaim as emperors, the very perſons "whoſe images had been diſplayed as the banners of ſedition "and revolt?"

V. TIBERIUS was fired with indignation. He renewed his complaints againſt Agrippina and her ſon, and, in a proclamation, reprimanded the licentious ſpirit of the populace. He complained to the fathers in terms of keen reproach, that the authority of the prince was eluded, and, by the artifice of a ſingle ſenator, deſpiſed and ſet at nought. He deſired that the whole buſineſs, unprejudiced by their proceedings, ſhould be reſerved for his own deciſion. The fathers, without further debate, ſent diſpatches to the emperor, aſſuring him, that, though they had not pronounced final judgment, having no commiſſion for that purpoſe, they were, notwithſtanding, ready to prove their zeal, and would have inflicted a capital puniſhment, if the prince himſelf had not abridged their authority.

SUPPLEMENT *(a)*.

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1. THE fathers, at all times pliant and obſequious, were, in this juncture, more willing than ever to debaſe themſelves by every act of mean ſervility. Sejanus knew the inmoſt ſecrets of the prince, and the deep reſentments that lay concealed, and nouriſhed venom in his heart. Sure of a complying ſenate, he grew more aſpiring, yet not bold enough to ſtrike the deciſive blow. His ſtrength had hitherto lain in fraud and covered ſtratagem, and, having made an experiment of his talents, he reſolved to proceed by the ſame inſidious arts. Agrippina continued, with unabating ſpirit, to counteract his deſigns; and her two ſons, Nero and Druſus, ſtood fair in the line of ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity. The ambition of the miniſter required that all three ſhould be removed. He began with Nero and Agrippina, well aſſured, that, after their deſtruction, the impetuous temper of Druſus would lay him open to the aſſaults of his enemies.

2. ROME, in the mean time, knew no pauſe from the rage of proſecutions. During the life of Livia, Tiberius felt ſome reſtraint; but, that check removed, he now broke out with redoubled fury. The moſt intimate friends of his mother *(a)*, particularly thoſe to whom ſhe had recommended the care of her funeral, were devoted to deſtruction. In that number a man of equeſtrian rank, and of a diſtinguiſhed character, was ſingled out from the reſt, and condemned to the hard labour of drawing water *(b)* in a crane. By the diſgrace of an infamous puniſhment,

the tyrant meant to ſpread a general terror. The cruelty of Sejanus kept pace with the exterminating fury of his maſter. His pride was wounded by the freedom, with which the public ſpoke of his ambitious views. A band of informers was let looſe, and by that hireling crew a civil war was waged againſt the firſt men in Rome. Spies were ſtationed in every quarter; the mirth of the gay, the ſorrows of the wretched, the joke of innocent ſimplicity *(c)*, and the wild rambling talk of men in liquor, ſerved to ſwell the liſt of conſtructive crimes. Nothing was ſafe; no place ſecure; informers ſpread terror and deſolation through the city, and all ranks were ſwept away in one common ruin.

3. WHILE by theſe acts of oppreſſion Rome was made a ſcene of ruin and diſmay, every other part of the empire enjoyed the moſt *(a)* perfect tranquillity. It was the wiſh of Tiberius to have no war upon his hands, and, with that view, it was his policy to let the provinces feel the mildneſs of his government. He rewarded merit, but with a ſparing hand; to guilt he ſhewed himſelf inexorable; the delinquent in a poſt of truſt was ſure to be puniſhed with unremitting ſeverity. He dreaded ſuperior merit; and though at Rome virtue was a crime, in the provinces he forgave it. To his choice of general officers and foreign magiſtrates, no objection could be made: they were men of integrity, though ſeldom of diſtinguiſhed talents. The jealouſy of his nature would not allow him to employ the moſt eminent character; and from mediocrity, though he could not hope for glory, he expected to derive the undiſturbed tranquillity of his reign.

4. MARCUS VINICIUS and Lucius Caſſius Longinus were the next conſuls *(a)*. By the management of Tiberius, things were now brought to the criſis, which in his heart he had long deſired. The fathers had avowed their intention to paſs a decree againſt

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againſt Nero and Agrippina; but the clemency of the prince was ſuppoſed to hold that aſſembly in ſuſpenſe. Tiberius, however, no longer heſitated. Sejanus repreſented to him the danger of irreſolution or delay. The time, he ſaid, called for ſudden exertion. "The guilty had thrown off the maſk, and, from ſeditious "diſcourſes, proceeded to acts of open rebellion. The very ſe- "nate began to waver; private views ſeduced them from their "duty; the integrity of that body was no longer certain. The "ſoldiers threatened a revolt, and Nero was already conſidered "as the head of the empire. Tiberius, indeed, reigned amidſt the "rocks of Capreæ; but Agrippina and her ſon gave the law at "Rome." Inflamed by this reaſoning, Tiberius ſent a letter to the fathers, in ſubſtance declaring, "that his mind was on the "rack, and various apprehenſions, like an inward fire *(b)*, con- "ſumed his peace. He knew by certain intelligence, that Nero "and Agrippina had formed a dangerous league; and the ſtorm, "if not prevented, would ere long burſt in ruin on their heads."

5. THE ſenate met in conſternation. After a ſhort debate, Agrippina and her ſon Nero were declared public enemies. This vote no ſooner reached the ear of Tiberius, than he ſent orders to a party of the prætorian guards to take them both into cuſtody. The unhappy priſoners were loaded with fetters, and conveyed from place to place *(a)* in a cloſe litter, which not a ray of light could penetrate. In this manner they proceeded towards the coaſt of Campania. A band of ſoldiers guarded them in their progreſs through the country. The crowd was every where kept at a diſtance, and the eye of compaſſion no where ſuffered to behold their miſery. Agrippina was detained, for ſome time, in a caſtle near Herculaneum *(b)*, on the margin of the ſea; while Tiberius from his iſland beheld, with malignant joy, the place where his ſtate-priſoner pined in bitterneſs of heart. But even that diſtreſs-

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ful ſituation could not ſubdue the ſpirit of Agrippina. She did not forget that ſhe was the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, and the widow of Germanicus. Burning with reſentment, and by every inſult fired with indignation, ſhe launched out with vehemence againſt the ſavage cruelty of the emperor. The centurion, who guarded her perſon, had his private orders; and the ferocity of his nature made him ready to obey. With brutal violence he raiſed his hand, and at a blow ſtruck *(c)* out one of her eyes. She wiſhed for the hand of death to deliver her from the rage of her enemies. She reſolved to die by abſtinence; but even that laſt reſource of the wretched was denied to her. Her mouth *(d)* was opened againſt her will, and victuals were forced down her throat, in order to protract a life of miſery. Such was the deep and ſtudied malice of Tiberius: he deſtroyed numbers in his fury, and at times, with deliberate malice, refuſed to let others die in peace *(e)*. He kept them impriſoned in life, and made even his mercy the ſevereſt vengeance. To ſee thoſe whom he hated in his heart, ſtretched on the torture of the mind, invoking death, yet forced to linger in ſlow-conſuming pain, was the delight of that implacable, that obdurate mind. With that envenomed malignity he choſe to extend the life of Agrippina. She was removed, under the care of a centurion, to the iſle of Pandataria, where Julia, her unfortunate mother, cloſed her life in the laſt ſtage of wretchedneſs. By confining the daughter in the ſame place, he hoped, by a ſubtle ſtroke of malice, to load her with the imputation of ſimilar vices, and thereby blacken a character which he ſaw was purity itſelf. Agrippina perceived the drift of his inhuman policy, and, no doubt, felt it with anguiſh of heart. How ſhe endured the barbarity of her enemies for three years afterwards, we have now no means of knowing. Her death will be mentioned in due time and place *(f)*.

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Nero was baniſhed to the Iſle *(g)* of Pontia, not far from Pandataria. About a year afterwards, the news of his death arrived at Rome, and ſpread a general face of mourning through the city. The current report was, that a centurion, ſent by Tiberius, paſſed himſelf for an officer, commiſſioned by the ſenate to ſee immediate execution performed. This man diſplayed to view his inſtruments of death, and the young prince, terrified at the ſight, put an end to his life. It is ſaid, that, of the three ſons of Germanicus, he was the only one, who by his graceful figure, and the elegance of his manners, recalled to the memory of men an image of his father.

6. DRUSUS and Caius (ſurnamed Caligula), as ſoon as their brother Nero was baniſhed, were conſidered by Sejanus as the two remaining props of the empire. Druſus ſtood neareſt to the ſucceſſion, and for that reaſon was the moſt obnoxious. Seduced by the arts of Sejanus, and further incited by his own inordinate ambition, that unhappy prince had joined in the conſpiracy againſt his brother Nero; but what he thought would contribute to his elevation, became the fatal cauſe of his ruin. He had been at an early period of his life contracted to Otho's *(a)* daughter, who was then of tender years: but, without regarding that engagement, he married Æmilia Lepida *(b)*, a woman of illuſtrious birth, but fatally bent on miſchief, and, by her pernicious talents, able to execute the worſt deſigns. Sejanus ſaw the uſe to be made of ſuch a character. He had choſen Livia for his inſtrument to cut off Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius; and he now reſolved, by the ſame execrable means, to deſtroy the ſon of Germanicus. With this deſign, the grand corruptor in a ſhort time gained the affections of the wife. In the courſe of his adulterous commerce, he inſtilled into her heart his own pernicious venom, and render-

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ed her the implacable enemy of her huſband. He promiſed to join her in the nuptial union, and with ideas of future grandeur ſo dazzled her imagination, that ſhe undertook the deteſtable taſk of carrying to the ear of the emperor an accuſation againſt her huſband, who was then attending the court in the Iſle of Capreæ.

Inſtructed by her ſeducer, and urged on by the ardour of her own libidinous paſſions, ſhe alarmed Tiberius every day with ſome new allegation; ſhe renewed, with ſtudied artifice, all that had been imputed to Nero and Agrippina, and in their guilt, with affected reluctance, involved Druſus as an accomplice. She pretended, at the ſame time, to plead in his behalf. His crimes, ſhe hoped, would admit of ſome extenuation: but her apology ſerved only to envenom the charge. The emperor conſulted with his miniſter. That artful politician eſpouſed the cauſe of the young prince; he affected to diſbelieve all that was alleged: but the proofs in time were too ſtrong to be reſiſted; he yielded to the force of truth, ſtill attempting to palliate, but by feeble excuſes making the whole appear ſtill more atrocious.

7. DRUSUS, unheard and undefended, received orders to depart forthwith from the Iſle of Capreæ. He arrived at Rome, but not to live there in a ſtate of ſecurity. He was purſued by the machinations of Sejanus. That artful and intriguing miniſter prevailed on Caſſius Longinus *(a)*, the conſul, to arraign the character and conduct of the young prince, before the aſſembly of the fathers. Though high in office, this man was baſe enough to forget his own dignity, and become the infamous tool of a vile and deſigning favourite. "He ſtated to the ſenate, that the young "prince, exaſperated by his late diſgrace, was purſuing violent "meaſures; and, in order to cauſe a ſudden revolution, was every "day endeavouring, by intrigue, by cabal, and popular arts, to

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"increaſe the number of his partiſans." Theſe allegations were, in fact, ſuborned by Sejanus; but the fathers were perſuaded that the whole buſineſs originated with the emperor. A vote was accordingly paſſed, declaring Druſus an enemy to the ſtate. This proceeding was no ſooner reported to Tiberius, than he ſtood aſtoniſhed at the meaſure; but his animoſity to the houſe of Germanicus was not to be appeaſed. He gave orders, by letter to the ſenate, that his grandſon ſhould be confined a cloſe priſoner in the lower part *(b)* of the palace, with a conſtant guard over him, to watch his motions, to note his words, and keep a regiſter of every circumſtance, to be in time tranſmitted to Capreæ, for his private inſpection. In that wretched condition, Druſus was left to pine in miſery, till, about three years afterwards, as will be mentioned in its place *(c)*, he cloſed his diſmal tragedy.

8. TIBERIUS ſaw, with inward ſatisfaction, the family of Germanicus well nigh extinguiſhed. The meaſures by which their ruin had been accompliſhed, gratified the malice of his heart: but what motive induced Sejanus to be ſo active in the buſineſs, was a problem, which all his penetration was not able to ſolve. Did the miniſter mean to gratify the wiſhes of his ſovereign? or was his own private ambition at the bottom? Tiberius was thrown into a ſtate of perplexity. His jealouſy took the alarm. From that moment he reſolved to keep a watchful eye *(a)* on the conduct of the miniſter. His keen diſcernment and ſyſtematic diſſimulation were, perhaps, never ſo remarkable in any period of his life. He began to nouriſh ſuſpicion; and, in a mind like his, ſuſpicion was ſure never to work in vain. In the memoirs *(b)* of his own life, which were found after his death, it appears that the firſt cauſe, that brought on the ruin of the favourite, was his eagerneſs to deſtroy the ſons of Germanicus.

9. MEAN-

9. MEANWHILE, Sejanus grew intoxicated with his good fortune: he ſaw the imperial dignity tottering on the head of an aged prince, and not likely to be better ſupported by Caligula, a young man as yet unequal to the cares of empire. He thought himſelf near the ſummit of his ambition; but, to enſure ſucceſs, he reſolved to plan his meaſures with care and circumſpection. He addreſſed the prince in the ſtyle of a man, who had no private views, no motive but the intereſt of his ſovereign. Tiberius knew that his profeſſions were falſe and hollow. He reſolved, however, to retaliate with the ſame inſidious arts. He called Sejanus his beſt friend; the faithful miniſter, by whoſe vigilance the public peace was ſecured, and the glory of the empire *(a)* maintained in its higheſt luſtre. Not content with beſtowing on him the warmeſt commendations, he added that the man, who rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to the ſtate, ought to be, at leaſt, the ſecond in rank and dignity.

10. THE miniſter, in conſequence of this exaggerated praiſe, became the idol of the people. The fathers paſſed ſeveral votes in his favour, and ſent their deputies to the Iſle of Capreæ, with addreſſes of congratulation *(a)*. In the forum, in the temples, and in private houſes, ſtatues were erected to Sejanus. His birth-day was celebrated with religious ceremonies. The altars ſmoked with incenſe, and the city reſounded with his praiſe. Men ſwore by the fortune of Tiberius and his faithful friend. Sejanus ſhared in all public honours with the emperor. Applauded by the ſenate, and adored by the multitude, he was now ſcarce inferior to his maſter.

11. IT was in this juncture that Velleius Paterculus *(a)* publiſhed his Epitome of Roman Affairs, from the foundation of the city down to his own times. The work is dedicated to Vinicius,

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one of the conſuls for the year. It is to be regretted that a writer of ſo fine a genius was thrown on that evil period, in which the Romans, formerly fierce with all the pride, and, perhaps, the exceſs of liberty, were fallen into the oppoſite extreme of abject ſlavery. The ſpirit of adulation debaſed the human character. This elegant author caught the infection of the times. He ſaw the ſenators, men of conſular rank, the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman knights, and, in ſhort, a whole people, proſtrate at the feet of Tiberius and his favourite. He was carried away by the current, and hence we find him repreſenting the Roman glory, that work of ages, and that toil of patriots, warriors, and legiſlators, reſting at length upon an emperor, who lived in voluntary exile, and a miniſter, who had all the vices, without the talents, of his maſter. The panegyric beſtowed upon two ſuch characters has ſurvived the wreck of time; but it has ſurvived, to be the diſgrace of the author; a monument of venal praiſe and ſervile flattery. The beauty of the compoſition, and the graces of the ſtyle, are the work of a rhetorician, in whoſe hands hiſtory forgot her genuine character, and truth has been degraded. Paterculus ſtands at the head of thoſe, who have been willing to liſt in the ſervice of corruption; and, though the taſte of the writer will not eaſily find a rival, the abject ſpirit of the man will be ſure of having, in every age and country, a herd of imitators, as long as the leaders of party and faction ſhall wiſh to ſee their ambition diſguiſed, and their vices decorated with the colours and the garb of virtue.

12. THAT Paterculus threw a temporary luſtre round the name of his patron, there can be no room to doubt, ſince the varniſh, ſo well laid on, almoſt deceives us at the preſent hour. But Sejanus found a more powerful ſupport in his two friends *(a)*, Aſinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus. The former, being, as has been mentioned,

mentioned, on bad terms with Tiberius, was the more ready to liſt in the faction of Sejanus. He became the zealous partiſan of the miniſter, and drew to his intereſt the leading members of the ſenate. Gætulicus was, at this time, appointed to the command of the legions in the Upper Germany. He owed this promotion to the influence of Sejanus, to whoſe ſon he had offered his daughter in marriage. This he knew would cement a cloſer union between him and his patron; and the patron, in the mean time, was not blind to the advantages which he himſelf might derive from that alliance. Lucius Apronius, the uncle of Gætulicus, was at the head of the army on the Lower Rhine; and, by forming a connection with that family, Sejanus ſaw that, in fact, he ſhould have eight legions at his beck. This was a proſpect that flattered his hopes, and gave new ardour to that ſpirit of enterpriſe, which now began to hurry him on to the conſummation of his wiſhes. Honours, dignities, all employments and places of truſt were granted at his will and pleaſure, and to none but men ready to co-operate in his worſt deſigns. The miniſter, thus ſupported, ſtood but one remove from the ſovereign power; but his elevation placed him on the edge of a precipice, from which his fall would inevitably be ſudden and terrible.

13. TIBERIUS, in the mean time, was ever on the watch. He obſerved all that paſſed with acute, but ſilent attention. Bending under the weight of years, and ſtill a ſlave to his lewd deſires, he was anxious to preſerve his power to the laſt. With this view he continued to act with his uſual policy; in appearance reſigned to indolence, yet making uſe of his vices to ſhade his ſecret purpoſes. His whole attention was fixed on the conduct of Sejanus. The alliance projected between the miniſter and Gætulicus *(a)*, who filled a poſt of ſuch importance, alarmed his fears. The active zeal of Aſinius Gallus was another cauſe of ſuſpicion. He

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reſolved to remove a man of ſo much weight, and, having formed that deep deſign, he ſoon ſeized his opportunity to carry it into execution.

14. ASINIUS GALLUS, ſtill perſiſting to exert himſelf in the intereſt of Sejanus, made a florid ſpeech in the ſenate, concluding with a ſtring of new honours to be decreed to the favourite. The motion ſucceeded to his wiſhes. He *(a)* was deputed by the fathers to know the emperor's pleaſure. During his ſtay at the Iſle of Capreæ, Tiberius ſent a letter to the ſenate, repreſenting him as a diſturber of the public peace, and in direct terms requiring that he ſhould be forthwith ſecured in the houſe of one of the conſuls. The fathers knew that delay on their part would be conſidered as a crime. Having offended in the caſe of Agrippina, and not daring to provoke reſentment a ſecond time, they obeyed without heſitation. A prætor was diſpatched to the Iſle of Capreæ, to take charge of the priſoner. Aſinius, in the mean time, was ignorant of all that paſſed at Rome. He was well received by the emperor, a conſtant gueſt at his table, and a ſharer in all his pleaſures. In the gaiety of a ſocial hour he was informed of the judgment pronounced againſt him by the ſenate. The firſt emotions of ſurpriſe overpowered his reaſon. In order to ſecure, by a voluntary death, his fortune for his children, he endeavoured to lay violent hands on himſelf. Tiberius diſſuaded him from his purpoſe, giving him at the ſame time ſtrong aſſurances that he might ſafely rely on the protection of the prince and the favour of Sejanus. Aſinius yielded to that advice. He was conveyed to Rome under a guard, and there, without being heard in his defence, thrown into cloſe confinement, ſhut up from the ſight of his friends, and debarred from all food, except what was neceſſary to prolong his life. His friend Syriacus *(b)*, a man diſtinguiſhed by

by his talents and his eloquence, met with a gentler punishment. His intimacy with Asinius was his only crime, and for that he was put to instant death; happy to escape from the power of a tyrant, who, by a refinement in cruelty, made life itself the worst torture he could inflict.

15. SEJANUS was now persuaded that the sovereign power was within his grasp. Dazzled by that glittering scene, he did not perceive that the ruin of Asinius was a blow aimed at himself. Tiberius still continued to watch the motions of the minister, weighing every circumstance, and brooding in silence over his own designs. He conversed in private with Sejanus; he perused his countenance; he explored his secret thoughts, and from what he saw and heard drew his own conclusions. A penetrating observer of mankind, he knew that prosperity is the surest discoverer of the human heart. He resolved, therefore, to ply Sejanus with marks of the warmest affection; he lavished his favours on him with unbounded generosity; he praised his unremitting labours in the service of his prince; and, to put him off his guard, determined to overwhelm him with a load of grandeur. The marriage with Livia *(a)*, the widow of his son Drusus, which he had formerly rejected, he knew would intoxicate the vanity of the ambitious minister. With that view he gave his consent to the match, resolved by acts of kindness to probe the secrets of the heart. Tiberius did not stop here. He was aware that Sejanus, while he remained at Capreæ, would act with circumspection; but, if removed to a distance, would most probably drop the mask. In a solitary island the favourite had every thing in his power; the prætorian guards, stationed on the spot, were under his command, and all dispatches to the prince passed through their hands. Sejanus was, by consequence, master of every thing. He could suppress or

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deliver what he thought proper. The court was filled with his creatures, all of them ſpies upon the actions of the prince, and all devoted to the miniſter.

16. TIBERIUS felt theſe diſadvantages, and accordingly deviſed an artful plan to free himſelf from the embarraſſment. Under colour of doing honour to his friend, but, in truth, to remove him from his preſence, he propoſed to make him joint conſul with himſelf. The functions of that high office, he well knew, would require the conſtant reſidence of the magiſtrate at a diſtance from Capreæ; and the emperor from his ſolitary rock, as from a watch tower, might ſuperintend all his meaſures. There was beſides another advantage, of the firſt conſequence to Tiberius. While the conſul paſſed his whole time at Rome, the prætorian guards would be weaned from their former maſter, and, if neceſſary, Macro might be diſpatched to undertake the command, under a plauſible promiſe to reſign, whenever the miniſter ſhould be at leiſure from the duties of his magiſtracy, to reſume his ſtation. Macro approved of this new arrangement. With the true ſpirit of a court ſycophant, wiſhing for an opportunity to creep into favour, he profeſſed himſelf devoted to the ſervice of his prince, while, in fact, he was determined, by every ſiniſter art, to ſupplant a proud and domineering favourite.

17. SEJANUS, amidſt all the dignities ſo liberally heaped upon him, little ſuſpected an underplot to work his ruin. He continued, with every mark of a fawning ſpirit, to ingratiate himſelf with the emperor; he was the ſole fountain of court favour; he looked down with contempt upon the young Caligula; and of the twin-born ſons of Druſus, the one, who ſtill ſurvived, was too young to alarm his jealouſy. He received the homage

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homage of his creatures; he diſtributed preſents with magnificence, and ſtill took care to keep the prince immerſed in luxury. Tiberius ſaw, with inward pleaſure, the towering ſpirit of the conſul elect. Increaſing honours, he had no doubt, would unprovide his mind, and, in a ſhort time, produce the genuine features of his character.

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18. We enter now upon the fifth conſulſhip of Tiberius, with Sejanus for his colleague. While the emperor remained in his ſolitary iſland *(a)*, Sejanus made his entry into Rome, with the pomp of a ſovereign prince taking poſſeſſion of his dominions. The ſtreets reſounded with peals of joy. The ſenators, the Roman knights, all ranks of men preſſed round the new conſul with their congratulations. His houſe was crowded, his gates were beſieged, and all were eager to pay their court. They knew the jealouſy of a man raiſed to ſudden elevation; they dreaded the danger of neglect or inattention; and all were willing to crawl in ſervitude. The prevailing opinion was, that Tiberius, worn out with age, and no longer equal to a weight of cares, would, for the remainder of his days, reſign himſelf to his uſual pleaſures, content with the ſhadow of imperial grandeur, while the adminiſtration went on in his name, though conducted by the favourite. Tiberius ſeemed no more than the lord of an iſland, while Sejanus was conſidered as the vicegerent of the emperor, the actual governor of the Roman world. In this perſuaſion all bowed down before him; they depended on his ſmiles; they approached his preſence with a degree of reſpect little ſhort of adoration; his ſtatues were ſet up in every quarter; curule chairs were decorated with gold; victims were ſlain, and, in the honours offered to the miniſter, the prince was only mentioned for the ſake of form, in conformity to eſtabliſhed uſage. Religious worſhip was not yet offered to the ambitious ma-

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giſtrate; but the men, who bluſhed to go to that extreme, fell proſtrate before his ſtatues, and there poured forth their impious vows.

19. TIBERIUS had regular intelligence of all that paſſed; but the time was not arrived, when the ſecrets of that dark deſigning mind were to tranſpire. He lay in wait for further particulars. In the mean time, he addreſſed himſelf to Lucius Piſo *(a)*, a man deſcended from a father of cenſorian rank, who poſſeſſed the happy art of knowing how to avoid the extremes of liberty and mean ſubmiſſion. Acting always with temper and with wiſdom, he had recommended himſelf to the eſteem and favour of Tiberius. He could mix in ſcenes of luxury, and yet retain his virtue. Being præfect of Rome, he was, by conſequence, a confidential miniſter, entruſted with all the ſecrets of the court. Tiberius requeſted him, as a proof of his fidelity, to take careful notice of all that paſſed in the city, and to tranſmit to Capreæ an exact account of the proceedings in the ſenate, the language of the Roman knights, the diſcontents and clamours of the populace, and, above all, the cabals, intrigues, and every action of the conſul. Wiſhing ſtill to deceive by fair appearances, he took care, in his letters to the ſenate, to make honourable mention of Sejanus, ſtyling him, on all occaſions, the prop and guardian of the empire; his aſſociate in the adminiſtration: his dear. his well-beloved Sejanus.

20. ENCOURAGED by theſe marks of favour, the new conſul, to make his authority felt, reſolved to let fall the weight of his power on all, who ſcorned to bend before him with abject humility. He began with Geminius Rufus *(a)* on a charge of violated majeſty. Rufus appeared before the ſenate. His defence was ſhort, but delivered with magnanimity. "The man," he ſaid,

ſaid, "who ſtands accuſed of being an enemy to the prince, "has by his will made that very prince equal heir with his own "children." Having uttered thoſe words, he laid the will on the table, and withdrew to his own houſe. A quæſtor followed to acquaint him with the ſentence of the fathers. Rufus no ſooner ſaw the meſſenger, than he drew his ſword, and, plunging it in his breaſt, "Behold," he ſaid, "how a man of honour can "die: go, and report what you have ſeen to the ſenate." He ſpoke, and breathed his laſt. Priſca his wife was involved in the proſecution. She appeared before the fathers, determined to emulate the example of her huſband. They began to interrogate her: in that inſtant ſhe drew a dagger, which ſhe had concealed under her robe, and giving herſelf a mortal ſtab, expired on the ſpot.

21. WHILE Sejanus, to gratify his vengeance, laid waſte the city of Rome, Tiberius looked on with calm indifference. The deſtruction of men obnoxious for their virtue, gratified his natural cruelty; and the public deteſtation, he was ſure, would in the end fall on the miniſter. The ſenate, in the mean time, went on in a ſtyle of abject ſubmiſſion. Flattery was well nigh exhauſted; but the members of that aſſembly were determined to rack their invention for new proofs of ſordid meanneſs. They lamented that the dignity of the conſulſhip was leſſened by the ſhortneſs of its duration, and therefore voted that Tiberius and his colleague ſhould continue *(a)* in office for the ſpace of five years. Sejanus was now at the pinnacle of his wiſhes. He ſaw the emperor near the verge of life, and, ſure of enjoying the conſular authority after the death of his maſter, he made no doubt of ſucceeding to the ſovereign power.

22. IN due time the decree for extending the conſulſhip to a longer

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a longer term was communicated to Tiberius. Nothing could be more oppoſite to his intention. He was willing to let Sejanus, by his acts of cruelty, provoke the ill will of the people; but to prolong his power was no part of his plan. He expreſſed his diſlike of the meaſure, but in terms of gentle reproof, determined neither to diſcover his hidden purpoſes, nor to irritate the pride of his colleague by an abrupt refuſal. He obſerved to the ſenate, "that their late decree was an infringement of "the conſtitution. It had been the wiſdom of the fathers to "declare, that the conſulſhip ſhould not, of neceſſity, laſt an "entire year. By making it a quinquennial office, they would "withhold from men of eminence the reward due to their "public ſervices, and the provinces would be deprived of able "governors. It was for the wiſdom of the ſenate to conſider, "not what would do honour to the prince and his dearly be-"loved colleague, but what would be moſt conducive to the "happineſs and good order of the empire. That, and that only, "was the object which he and Sejanus had neareſt to their "hearts; and, in compariſon with that great object, they diſ-"regarded public honours." He diſpatched, at the ſame time, a private letter to Sejanus, adviſing him to abdicate his office; and, to induce him to it by his own example, he ſent a letter of reſignation. Sejanus felt the diſappointment. Unwilling, however, to make known the wound which his pride had ſuffered, he complied with the emperor's directions, and, about the middle of May, went out of office, ſoon to have a more dreadful fall.

23. ON the ſeventh of the ides of May, Cornelius Sylla and Sexteidius Catullinus *(a)* ſucceeded to the conſulſhip. They were appointed for three months. Tiberius continued to manage appearances, ſtill myſterious, cloſe, and impenetrable. Sejanus,

janus, on his part, was not free from anxiety. He ſaw a change in the affections of the emperor, and, for that reaſon, wiſhed to reviſit Capreæ. In the ſolitude of that place he had no doubt but he could again wind himſelf into favour, or, if neceſſary, he could there, with better advantage, purſue the road of his ambition. His oſtenſible reaſons for deſiring to return were, the ill health of Livia, who required a change of air; and, after a long ſeparation, his own earneſt wiſh to have an interview with his ſovereign. Tiberius was not to be deceived. He returned for anſwer, that he alſo languiſhed for a ſight of his friend; but the ſervice of the ſtate required that ſo able a miniſter ſhould remain at Rome. He intended ſhortly to viſit the capital, and ſhould there embrace Sejanus. In his letters to the ſenate he had the art to blend hints of diſlike with marks of affection; and, though ſtill equivocal, he gave ſome reaſon to think, that he was weaning himſelf from his favourite. He mentioned him ſlightly, or hinted ſome exception, and occaſionally paſſed him by in ſilence. He talked of himſelf as a ſuperannuated prince, worn out with infirmities, and near his end. In his next letters he was perfectly recovered, and on the point of ſetting out for Rome. The people were the dupes of his fallacy, while he remained fixed in his retreat, content to reign in ſolitary grandeur.

24. TIBERIUS thought it time to unmaſk another battery againſt Sejanus. He had invited the young Caligula *(a)* to his court, and, having made him put on the manly gown, he deſired that the ſenate would inveſt him with the dignities of augur and pontiff, both vacant by the baniſhment of his brother Nero. Of Claudius *(b)* (afterwards emperor) he took no notice. That prince had never been adopted into the Cæſarean family. He lived at Rome neglected and deſpiſed by the court

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of Tiberius. Antonia his mother uſed to ſay, that nature began to mould him, but had not finiſhed her work. Perception and memory were faculties which he did not want; but judgment and elocution were withheld from him. In his private ſtudies he made conſiderable acquiſitions in literature; but in public he loſt his recollection, and with it the power of thinking. When under the operation of fear, he ſeemed torpid and inſenſible; and ſudden fear continued to haunt him in every ſtage of life, and even on the throne. No wonder that Tiberius held him in no kind of eſtimation; but the honours conferred upon Caligula, he knew would prove a mortal ſtab to the ambition of Sejanus. Still, however, to amuſe the favourite with deluſive hopes, he required a grant from the ſenate of two more pontificates, one for Sejanus, and the other for his eldeſt ſon. By this ambiguous conduct the people of Rome were held in ſuſpenſe. Whether they were to expect an account of the emperor's death, or in a ſhort time to ſee him in the city, was a point not to be aſcertained. Meanwhile, the ſenate, ever prone to flattery, paſſed a vote, inveſting Sejanus with the title of proconſul, and at the ſame time declaring his conduct in his magiſtracy a model for the imitation of all future conſuls.

25. SEJANUS began to fluctuate between hope and fear; but the ſenate ſhewing ſtill the ſame obſequious behaviour, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to reach the ſummit of his ambition. Religious worſhip continued to be offered to him. It is ſaid, that he aſſiſted in perſon at the celebration of the rites, at once the god and the prieſt of his own altar. Tiberius knew the effect of ſuperſtition on the public mind. To deprive Sejanus of that advantage, he wrote to the ſenate, complaining, that, in direct oppoſition to the principles of religion and to common ſenſe, the worſhip due to the gods alone *(a)* was impiouſly

piouſly transferred to mortal man. He ordered that no ſuch honours ſhould be paid to himſelf, and, by conſequence, left Sejanus expoſed to the contempt and deriſion of the people.

26. AT Rome it was now underſtood that the emperor was alienated from the man, who had been raiſed to ſuch a height of power and grandeur. Sejanus began to open his eyes, and to ſee at length a reverſe of fortune. He found that he had been the bubble of a politic prince, who had been, during his whole life, exerciſed in the arts of diſſimulation, and was grown a perfect maſter in the arts of deceit and cruelty. The young Caligula was, in appearance, high in favour with his grandfather, and the hearts of the people were at all times ready to eſpouſe the family of Germanicus. The diſappointed miniſter ſaw, too late, the want of reſolution which reſtrained him, during his conſulſhip, when the whole power of the ſtate was in his own hands. In the arts of fraud he ſaw that he was no match for a ſyſtematic politician, who planned his meaſures in the gloom of ſolitude, and never let his counſels tranſpire, till in one and the ſame inſtant they were known and felt. Sejanus reſolved to retrieve his loſs, and by one vigorous effort to decide the fate of empire. He called together his friends and followers; he paid court to ſuch as ſeemed diſaffected; he held forth rewards and promiſes, and, having increaſed the number of his partiſans, formed a bold conſpiracy *(a)*, reſolved by any means to ſeize the ſovereign power.

27. A POWERFUL league was formed with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and great numbers of all deſcriptions, ſenators, as well as military men, entered into the plot. Among theſe Satrius Secundus was the confidential friend and prime agent of the miniſter. We have ſeen this man let looſe by Sejanus *(a)* againſt

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the life of Cremutius Cordus; and now we are to ſee him, with the arts, in which he had been trained, employed againſt his maſter. Whatever was his motive, whether fear, or views of intereſt or ingratitude (for no principle of honour can be imputed to him), he reſolved to betray the ſecret to Tiberius. For this purpoſe he addreſſed himſelf to Antonia, the daughter of Anthony the triumvir, the widow of Druſus, and the mother of Germanicus. The character of this illuſtrious woman was honoured by the court, and revered by the people. She loſt her huſband in the prime of life, when ſhe had ſtill the attractions of youth and beauty; and, though Auguſtus propoſed to her ſeveral advantageous matches, ſhe remained faithful to her firſt vows, and declined every overture. Her dignity was free from pride; ſhe had virtue without oſtentation, and an elevation of mind, without the ambition and haughty ſpirit of Agrippina her daughter-in-law. She ſaw her grand-children cut off by the wicked arts of Sejanus, and in ſilent grief lamented the downfal of her family. When Nero was baniſhed to the iſle of Pontia, and Druſus lay confined in a dungeon, ſhe took Caligula their brother under her protection, and hoped that her houſe would prove a ſanctuary for the laſt ſurviving iſſue of Germanicus. Her conduct gave no umbrage to Tiberius. He reſpected her character, and, perhaps for that reaſon, was inclined, at laſt, to ſhew ſome favour to Caligula.

Satrius, the conſpirator, had no avenues of approach to Tiberius. He therefore made his advances to Antonia, concluding, that, by a ſtroke of perfidy, he might promote his intereſt in that quarter. His deſign was no ſooner conceived than executed. He gained acceſs to Antonia, and made a full diſcovery of the whole conſpiracy. That prudent woman heard the particulars, and, without delay, ſent diſpatches to the emperor by one

one of her ſlaves, whoſe name was Pallas *(b)*; the ſame who afterwards figured in a higher character, under the emperor Claudius.

28. TIBERIUS was aſtoniſhed, but not diſmayed. The danger preſſed; his habitual ſlowneſs was out of ſeaſon; the time called for vigour and deciſive meaſures. He ſent Macro to Rome, with a ſpecial commiſſion to take upon him the command of the prætorian guards. He added full inſtructions for his conduct in all emergencies. If he found that Sejanus and his party were able to ſtir up an inſurrection, he deſired that Druſus *(a)* ſhould be led forth from his confinement, and preſented to the people as their leader. The ſon of Germanicus, he was aware, would triumph over an obſcure native of Vulſinii. In the mean time, Tiberius was determined to be prepared for all poſſible events. He ordered the fleet, that lay at Miſenum, to aſſemble at the iſle of Capreæ, with intent, if any diſaſter happened, to ſail to ſome diſtant coaſt, and put himſelf at the head of ſuch of the legions as ſtill remained faithful to their prince. In order to obtain the quickeſt intelligence, he ordered ſignals *(b)* to be diſpoſed along the ſea-ſhore, on the whole way from Surrentum to Rome.

29. THE conſuls at this time were Memmius Regulus and Fulcinius Trio, both appointed to fill the office from the middle of Auguſt to the end of the year. Trio had rendered himſelf infamous by the proſecution of Libo: he was beſides known to be the tool and creature of Sejanus. Regulus was of a different mould, from his upright conduct deriving great conſequence, and, at that time, much eſteemed by Tiberius. The prætorian bands, as already ſtated, were under the influence of Sejanus. With the cohorts, that formed the city guard, the caſe

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was different. Subject to the controul of Piſo, who was then præfect of Rome, they had no connection with the miniſter. Under Piſo, Græcinus Laco was their commanding officer; a man diſtinguiſhed by his military talents and his firm integrity. In this poſture of affairs, Macro *(a)* arrived from Capreæ. He entered the city in a private manner, after the cloſe of day, and went directly to Regulus the conſul. He communicated the emperor's orders. Laco was called to the meeting. They conſulted together, and ſettled their plan of operations for the following day. Tiberius, in this interval of ſuſpenſe, took his ſtation on the ſharp point of a rock, ſurveying the deep that rolled beneath, and with an anxious eye gazing at the oppoſite ſhore for the earlieſt intelligence.

30. THE fatal day arrived, namely, the fifteenth before the calends of November. Early in the morning, by order of Regulus, a report was ſpread, that letters were arrived at Rome, in which the emperor ſignified his intention to aſſociate Sejanus with himſelf in the tribunitian power. The ſenate was ſummoned to meet in the temple of Apollo, near the imperial palace. Sejanus attended without delay. A party of the prætorians followed him. Macro met him in the veſtibule of the temple. He approached the miniſter with all demonſtrations of profound reſpect, and taking him aſide, "Be not ſurpriſed," he ſaid, "that you have no letter from the prince: it is his "pleaſure to declare you his colleague in the tribunitian power; "but he thinks that a matter of ſo much importance ſhould be "communicated to the fathers by the voice of the conſuls. I "am going to deliver the emperor's orders." Sejanus, elate with joy, and flushed with his new dignity, entered the ſenate-houſe. Macro followed him. As ſoon as the conſuls arrived, he delivered the letter from Tiberius, and immediately went

forth to the prætorian guards. He informed them, that, by order of the prince, a large donative was to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers. He added, that, by a new commiſſion, he himſelf was appointed their commanding officer, and, if they followed him to the camp, they would there receive the promiſed bounty. The lure was not thrown out in vain: the prætorian guards quitted their ſtation. Laco, who ſtood near at hand, immediately ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe with a body of the city cohorts.

31. THE letter to the conſuls was confuſed, embarraſſed, and with ſtudied art drawn into length, in order to keep the minds of the fathers in ſuſpenſe, while Macro gained time to execute what had been concerted. Regulus read the letter *(a)*; it began with general obſervations, expatiating at large on the ſtate of the empire: a ſhort expreſſion glanced at Sejanus; new matter followed; and then, winding round with art, hints were thrown out againſt the miniſter, in a perplexed ſtyle, vague, and ambiguous. It went on in the ſame obſcure manner, intermixing things wholly unconnected, but at each return more pointed againſt Sejanus, till at laſt the language of open invective left no room for doubt. The fathers were covered with aſtoniſhment. The change of men's minds, in the viciſſitude of human affairs, was never more remarkable. Thoſe, who a little before congratulated Sejanus on his new dignities, began to ſhun him as they would a contagion. The concluſion of the letter was like a ſtroke of thunder. The emperor ordered two ſenators *(b)*, who had joined in the conſpiracy, to be put to death, and Sejanus to be thrown into priſon. He ſignified, at the ſame time, his intention to return to Rome, and, for that purpoſe, deſired that one of the conſuls ſhould be ſent with a military guard as far as Capreæ, in order to conduct an infirm old man in ſafety to the capital.

32. SEJA-

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32. SEJANUS kept his ſeat like a man benumbed, ſenſeleſs, ſtupid with amazement. His friends deſerted him on every ſide. He remained in confuſion, pale and trembling, left in ſolitude, till the prætors and tribunes of the people gathered round him. Regulus called to him, "Riſe, Sejanus, and follow "me." The ruined favourite looked like a ſtatue of deſpair. He gazed, but underſtood nothing; he remained torpid, motionleſs, as if he had loſt the faculty of hearing. The conſul raiſed his arm, and, in a tone of menace, repeated his words no leſs than three times. Sejanus roſe in conſternation. The door of the ſenate-houſe was thrown open: Græcinus Laco entered, and ſecured his priſoner. Regulus did not think it prudent to put the queſtion to the aſſembly; but, contenting himſelf with the voice of a ſingle ſenator, ordered Sejanus to be loaded with irons, and in that condition, at the head of a numerous body of magiſtrates, conducted him to priſon.

33. THE downfal of Sejanus filled the city with exultation. The populace, who worſhipped him in the hour of proſperity, rejoiced to ſee the ſad cataſtrophe to which he was now reduced. They followed in crowds, rending the air with ſhouts, and pouring forth a torrent of abuſe and ſcurrilous language. The priſoner endeavoured to hide his face; but the mob delighted to ſee remorſe and ſhame, and guilt and horror, in every feature of that diſtracted countenance. They reviled him for his acts of cruelty; they laughed at his wild ambition; they tore down his images, and daſhed his ſtatues *(a)* to pieces. He was doomed by Tiberius to ſuffer death on that very day; but, as he had a powerful faction in the ſenate, it was not thought adviſable, for the mere formality of a regular condemnation, to hazard a debate. Private orders were given to Macro to diſpatch him without delay; but the conſul, ſeeing the diſpoſitions of the people, and the calm

neutrality of the prætorian guards, judged it beſt to re-aſſemble the fathers. They met in the temple of Concord. With one voice Sejanus was condemned to die, and the ſentence was executed without delay. He was ſtrangled in the priſon. His body was dragged to the Gemoniæ, and, after every ſpecies of inſult from the populace, at the end of three days was thrown into the Tiber *(b)*. Such was the tragic end of that ambitious favourite. He fell a terrible example to all, who, in any age or country, may hereafter endeavour by their vices to riſe above their fellow citizens.

34. THE execration, with which the populace treated the ruined miniſter, was perhaps nothing more than the variable humour of a giddy multitude *(a)*. In the zenith of his power Sejanus met with obſequious ſervility from all orders of men; and, had he continued to flouriſh in proſperity, there is too much reaſon to infer from the temper of the times, that the ſame debaſement of the human character would have continued. The ſenate followed the example of the people. They paſſed a decree, by which "it was declared unlawful to wear mourning "apparel for the deceaſed miniſter; his name was ordered to "be eraſed out of the calendar, and all public regiſters; the "ſtatue of Liberty was to be erected in the forum; a day of "public rejoicing was appointed, and the anniverſary of his "execution was to be celebrated with ſolemn games and public "ſpectacles, to be exhibited by the ſacerdotal college and the "ſodality of Auguſtan prieſts." The fathers went ſtill farther: that the ſtate might never again be deemed a prey for the enterpriſing genius of every worthleſs upſtart, it was declared, "that, for the future, no Roman citizen ſhould be inveſted with "extravagant honours, and that public oaths ſhould never be "ſworn upon any name but that of the emperor."

35. IT

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35. It is fatally too true, that, when the public mind has been debaſed by ſhame and ſervitude, the genuine tone of liberty, and the firmneſs of an independent ſpirit, are not eaſily recovered. That very ſenate, which, in the late decree, had ſhewn ſome ſigns of life, was, notwithſtanding, dead to all ſenſe of public virtue. Adulation and time-ſerving flattery were grown inveterate. New honours *(a)* were to be invented for a prince, who deſerted his poſt, and left the ſeat of empire, to hide himſelf from the world, the lord of a barren iſland, the ſhadow of an emperor. It was, however, decreed, that he ſhould be ſtyled "the father of his country, "and that his birth-day ſhould be celebrated with equeſtrian "games, and other demonſtrations of joy." Macro and Græcinus Laco were conſidered as men, who deſerved to ſtand high in the eſtimation of the emperor. Flattery, therefore, was to prepare her incenſe for thoſe exalted characters. Beſides a large ſum of money, to be paid, as a reward for their ſervices, out of the public treaſury, the enſigns of prætorian dignity were granted to Macro, and the quæſtorian rank to Laco. The former was alſo complimented with a ſeat in the theatre among the ſenators, and the honour of wearing a robe bordered with purple, at the celebration of the votive games. In this manner, after the downfal of one favourite, two new ones were to mount the ſcene. But, from the late event, thoſe officers had learned a leſſon of prudence: they declined the honours ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon them.

36. Meanwhile, Tiberius was appriſed of all that paſſed at Rome. From the jutting eminence of a ſharp-pointed rock he had ſeen the ſignals along the coaſt, and ſpecial meſſengers had been ſent to give him the earlieſt information. Rome, in the mean time, was a ſcene of tumult and wild commotion. The prætorian guards beheld with a jealous eye the preference given to the city cohorts. Enraged to find that no confidence was repoſed

repoſed in themſelves, the whole corps ruſhed, with licentious fury, into the city, and there bore down all before them, committing depredations in every quarter, and levelling houſes to the ground. The populace were no leſs inflamed againſt the creatures of Sejanus. They ſeized on all who had been inſtruments of his cruelty, and, executing the ſummary juſtice of an enraged multitude, glutted their thirſt of blood. Tiberius wrote to the magiſtrates, in the ſtrongeſt terms, requiring them to quell all inſurrections, and reſtore the public peace. The fate of Sejanus filled him with emotions of joy too ſtrong to be concealed; but in all other matters nothing could lay open the ſecret workings of that involved and gloomy ſpirit. He was never at any time more abſtruſe, dark, and unintelligible. He refuſed to ſee the deputies ſent by the ſenate; he rejected the honours, which had been decreed to him; and even Memmius Regulus, the conſul, who had ſerved him ſo faithfully, was not admitted to his preſence: hating the commerce of mankind, he retired, with a ſullen ſpirit, to one of his manſions, called the Villa of Jupiter *(a)*, and there continued ruminating in ſolitude for ſeveral months.

37. THE deputies of the ſenate returned to Rome, but with no pleaſing account of their expedition. The behaviour of the prince was a myſtery, which no man could explain. The fathers, however, concluded, that, to ſatisfy the vengeance of the emperor, more work remained on their hands. The friends, relations, and followers of Sejanus, were ordered into cuſtody. His uncle, Junius Blæſus, was put to death. The charge againſt him cannot now be ſtated: but he was a man of eminence, who to conſummate military talents united great political wiſdom: in the eyes of Tiberius, that was a ſufficient crime. The eldeſt ſon of Sejanus, though too young to be engaged in his father's plot, was alſo doomed a ſacrifice. Apicata *(a)*, who, as already mentioned,

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had been repudiated by Sejanus, was not condemned by the ſenate; but the ſight of her ſon's body, thrown into the common charnel, made life a load no longer to be endured. She drew up a memorial, containing a full detail of the wicked arts, with which her huſband and the younger Livia brought Druſus, the emperor's ſon, to an untimely death. Having finiſhed her account of that black tranſaction, ſhe ſent it, by a truſty meſſenger, to the iſle of Capreæ, and put a period to her days.

38. TIBERIUS was ſtill in his villa, ſequeſtered from the eyes of mankind; but the detection of that horrible murder rouſed him from his lethargy. He had till then believed that Druſus died of a diſorder occaſioned by his own intemperance: but being at length acquainted with that ſcene of villany, he ſent diſpatches to the ſenate, demanding vengeance on all who were any way concerned in the murder of his ſon. Eudemus, the phyſician *(a)*, and Lygdus, the eunuch, were put to the rack, and with their dying breath confeſſed all the particulars of that horrible tragedy. Livia, the widow of Druſus, was taken into cuſtody. According to ſome hiſtorians, Tiberius gave her up to her mother, Antonia *(b)*; and that good woman, who thought it of the eſſence of virtue, that guilt of ſo black a dye ſhould not remain unpuniſhed, left her to die by famine. But this account does not ſeem worthy of credit. In the caſe of a murdered ſon, why ſhould Tiberius, a man by nature harſh and vindictive, heſitate to execute the ſtroke of juſtice on a woman of ſo abandoned a character? It is certain that he paſſed ſeveral days in a cloſe enquiry into all the circumſtances of that tranſaction; and when the fact was proved beyond the poſſibility of a doubt; when the emperor ſaw his own immediate iſſue, the only one of his family, for whom he retained a ſpark of affection, ſnatched away by the treachery of an unnatural mother; can it be ſuppoſed that he felt any compaſſion for the

the perſon, who imbrued her hands in the blood of her huſband, and was, beſides, the ſiſter of Germanicus?

39. LIVIA, the vile accomplice of Sejanus, was brought to condign puniſhment; and, after duly weighing the teſtimony of writers who lived near the time, it may be aſſumed as an hiſtorical fact, that ſhe ſuffered by the order of Tiberius. The man, who in the iſle of Rhodes gave ſtrong indications of his innate cruelty, and, at that early period, was called, by his rhetorical preceptor, "a compoſition of mud *(a)* mixed with blood;" who became, in time, ſo hardened by repeated murders, as to ſet no kind of value on the lives of the moſt upright citizens, was not likely to feel the ſmalleſt touch of compunction, when revenge was prompted to ſtrike the blow, which juſtice warranted. It is well known, that, in talking of the lot of Priam, he gave it as his opinion, that the Aſiatic prince did not know how to form a true eſtimate of human felicity. Priam's happineſs, he ſaid, conſiſted in the rare event of having *(b)* ſurvived all his race. Tiberius was living faſt to enjoy that portion of worldly bliſs. Druſus, the ſon of Germanicus, languiſhed in a dungeon, condemned never again to ſee the light of the ſun; and if Caligula was to be ſpared, it was for the reaſon given by Tiberius himſelf, who uſed to ſay, "I ſuffer that ſon of Germanicus to live, that he may be, in time, a "public calamity, and the fatal author of his own deſtruction *(c)*. "In him I nouriſh a ſerpent for the people of Rome, and another "Phaeton for the world at large."

40. IT will not be unfit to mention, in this place, a few inſtances of that ſavage cruelty, which the tyrant practiſed in his lone retreat; and which, though well authenticated, cannot now be referred to any particular year. The place of execution *(a)*, where ſo many unhappy wretches died in miſery, is ſtill ſhewn

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amidſt the rocks of Capreæ. It ſtood on a jutting eminence; and from that fatal ſpot all, who incurred his diſpleaſure, were, after enduring the moſt exquiſite torments, thrown headlong into the ſea, where a crew of mariners waited to receive them, with orders, that no ſpark of life might remain unextinguiſhed, to break their limbs, and cruſh their mangled bodies.

Beſides a number of his old friends and confidential intimates, whom he retained near his perſon, he drew from Rome no leſs than twenty *(b)* of the moſt eminent citizens, to be his chief adviſers, and to form his cabinet-council. Of theſe choſen favourites, if we except two or three at moſt, the whole number was, for different reaſons, put to death. Sejanus was the moſt diſtinguiſhed victim; a man taken into favour, at firſt perhaps with perſonal regard, and motives of real friendſhip; but, as there is now room to think, continued in office for political reaſons. By raiſing this man to the ſummit of power, and ſtyling him his aſſociate in the adminiſtration, Tiberius, probably, meant to throw the odium of his worſt and moſt oppreſſive deeds on the favourite miniſter: with his aſſiſtance, perhaps, he thought that the hated houſe of Germanicus would be more eaſily cruſhed, and, in conſequence of that meaſure, that the ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity might be ſecured for the ſurviving iſſue of his ſon Druſus. That point accompliſhed, a politic and deſigning prince, like Tiberius, would not be at a loſs how to diſcard, or even ruin the miniſter, who had conducted his pernicious meaſures to the end deſired. It is highly probable, that, when he conferred the greateſt honours on Sejanus, he had even then planned his deſtruction. While he raiſed the ſuperſtructure, he was ſecretly employed in ſapping the foundation. Such was the genius of Tiberius: by nature ſubtle, dark, deſigning, and always myſterious, he had exerciſed his talents in the ſchool of politics, and became, by conſtant

conſtant practice, the great maſter of craft and diſſimulation. What he could do by an act of power, he choſe rather to accompliſh by the crooked means of deceit and ſtratagem. There never occurred a juncture, in which he was not able to overwhelm Sejanus, by barely ſignifying his will and pleaſure. An obſequious ſenate was ready either to pay homage to the favourite, or at a blow to diſpatch the man, whom they beheld with envy and ſecret deteſtation. The charge againſt Sejanus was no ſooner opened, than the fathers, without further enquiry, pronounced his final doom. The event ſhewed the nature of that aſſembly.

41. In all caſes of importance, when either a real delinquent was to be brought to juſtice, or an eminent citizen was to ſuffer for his talents and his virtue, we have ſeen that Tiberius affected ſtill to preſerve the forms of a regular conſtitution, and to conſider the ſenate as the ſupreme court of judicature. From the deciſion of the fathers he hoped to borrow ſome degree of ſanction, to colour the violence of his own proceedings. This policy, however, was confined to perſons of high conſideration in the ſtate. In his ſolitary iſland he committed petty murders without remorſe, or ceremony. He had ordered a perſon, whom he ſuſpected as an accomplice in the deſtruction of his ſon Druſus, to attend his preſence in the iſle of Capreæ; and it happened that he had invited, at the ſame time, a friend from Rhodes, on a viſit of pleaſure. The friend arrived firſt, and no ſooner ſet his foot on the ſhore, than he was ſeized by the guards, and as a delinquent hurried away, and put to the rack. Tiberius *(a)* heard of the miſtake, but was no otherwiſe moved, than to ſay, with calm compoſure, "Since you have begun with him, you may finiſh "your work, and put the man out of his pain." Upon another occaſion, when a funeral was paſſing by, a perſon of ſome pleaſantry ſaid to the corpſe, Go and inform Auguſtus, that the lega-

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cies, which he left to the common people, have not as yet been paid. Tiberius ordered the unfortunate wit to be brought before him, and, after paying him what was computed to be his ſhare, ſent him to immediate execution, ſaying at the ſame time, "Go, "and tell Auguſtus *(b)*, that you have received your legacy." Not a day paſſed without ſome new proof of that ſullen malignity, which he pampered in ſolitude, and converted, at length, into a rooted hatred of mankind. The moſt common occurrences irritated his paſſions, and diſcovered the rancour of his heart. In a few days after he arrived at Capreæ, as he was walking in a ſequeſtered part of the iſland, a fiſherman, eager to mark his reſpect for the emperor, made his way over rugged ſteeps, and pointed rocks, to preſent a barbel *(c)* of uncommon ſize. Alarmed by this intruſion on his privacy, Tiberius ordered the man's face to be well rubbed with his own barbel. The aſtoniſhed fiſherman, as ſoon as he recovered from his fright, congratulated himſelf, that he had not brought with him a large crab, which he had taken on the coaſt. Tiberius called for the crab, and with the claws, and edge of the ſhell, cut and mangled the poor fellow's features, till he made his countenance a woeful ſpectacle.

Theſe, it muſt be acknowledged, are minute particulars, and may be thought unworthy of the hiſtorian's pen: but, when they ſerve to produce ſtrokes of character, and lay open the inward temper of the man, even ſuch materials may be allowed to merit our attention. The mercileſs diſpoſition of Tiberius, and the unrelenting cruelty, with which he took away the lives of the moſt illuſtrious citizens, have been ſeen in a variety of tragic iſſues, and, perhaps, will be placed in a conſpicuous light by thoſe ſmaller incidents, which the diligence of other writers has collected, and which, for that reaſon, deſerve to be here recorded. Death was conſidered by Tiberius as the end of human ſorrow, and, conſequently,

quently, as the ſlighteſt puniſhment that he could inflict. Whenever the unhappy priſoner wiſhed to die, and lay down at once his load of affliction, that relief was ſure to be denied: he was condemned to groan in miſery. It happened that a man, of the name of Carvilius *(d)*, finding himſelf accuſed of ſome real or pretended crime, put a period to his days. Being informed of the fact, Tiberius exclaimed, "That man has eſcaped from me." Upon another occaſion, he thought fit to make all his priſoners paſs in review before him. One of them, haraſſed out with pain, petitioned for a ſpeedy execution: "No," ſaid Tiberius, "I have not yet made up my quarrel with you."

42. To give a minute and exact account of all his cruelties, is not the purpoſe of this undertaking; and yet, nothing that affords an inſight into the character of a deliberate and ſyſtematic tyrant, can with propriety be omitted. His band of aſtrologers, and the Greek philoſophers, whom he retained at his court, did not meet with more kindneſs and humanity, than the unhappy wretches, whom he tortured in priſon, and threw from rocks and precipices into the ſea. He entered into converſation with Zeno *(a)*, a man celebrated for his acquiſitions in literature, and in all the various branches of ſcience. The philoſopher was curious in his choice of words, and ſpoke with a degree of elegance, that bordered on too much refinement. Surpriſed at ſome of his expreſſions, Tiberius aſked him, which of the Greek dialects ſupplied him with ſuch nice and difficult phraſeology? Zeno told him, the DORIC, which, it ſeems, was the language in uſe at the iſle of Rhodes. Tiberius was enraged at the anſwer: he conceived it to be a ſarcaſtic alluſion to the time of his reſidence in that iſland, and, in his rage, baniſhed the philoſopher to the iſle of Cinaria.

Seleucus *(b)*, the grammarian, was alſo invited to enjoy the

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ſweets of meditation in the ſolitary retreats of Capreæ. He found that the emperor came to his evening repaſt, well provided with abſtract queſtions, which he had gleaned from his morning ſtudies. In order to be prepared for all difficulties, the philoſopher made it his buſineſs to learn, from the attendants of the emperor, what authors their maſter choſe for his amuſement in the courſe of the day. In conſequence of this intelligence, no queſtion came upon him by ſurpriſe. Tiberius heard of the ſtratagem, and was fired with indignation. He thought it an attempt to pry into his actions with inquiſitive eyes. The philoſopher, now conſidered as a ſpy, received orders to appear no more at court, and, in a ſhort time afterwards, was put to death.

Hiſtorians relate another tranſaction, which, by a difference of opinion among themſelves, they have rendered ſomewhat doubtful: but ſince they have tranſmitted it as a problem to exerciſe the judgment of poſterity, it may, with propriety, be inſerted in this place, and left to try its fortune with the reader. A man, whoſe name is not mentioned, but, as it ſeems, an architect by profeſſion, was employed by Tiberius to repair an arch, that was tottering to its fall. He ſucceeded in the work, to the ſurpriſe of all who beheld it; and, after receiving a reward for his ſkill and ingenuity, was by the jealous malignity of the emperor ſent into baniſhment. Addicted to the mechanic arts, and fond of uſeful inventions, this man found the method of manufacturing glaſs *(c)* to a degree of perfection unknown before. Having prepared his materials, and made a vaſe of the moſt beautiful compoſition, he went to preſent it to Tiberius in the iſle of Capreæ, little doubting but that, for ſo fine a piece of workmanſhip, he ſhould obtain his pardon. Tiberius had a circle of his courtiers round him. The tranſparent veſſel excited the admiration of all. The artiſt received it from the hands of the emperor, and, to ſhew the wonders

wonders of his ſkill, daſhed it on the ground. The company was alarmed, but, in a ſhort time, ſtood aſtoniſhed to ſee, that, inſtead of flying into fragments, it was only bent and flattened in the part that ſtruck againſt the ground. Their ſurpriſe was ſtill more increaſed, when they ſaw the ingenious mechanic take out his hammer, and reſtore the glaſs to its original form, as if it had the flexibility of a malleable metal. Tiberius deſired to know, whether he had communicated the ſecret of his art to any other perſon; and, being aſſured that no one knew it, he ordered him to be hurried away to inſtant execution, giving for his reaſon, that a manufacture, which could tranſmute ordinary ingredients into ſo fine a form, would leſſen the value of braſs, and gold, and ſilver, and ought, for that reaſon, to be aboliſhed for ever.

43. SUCH were the repeated acts of fell and ſavage cruelty, which Tiberius hoped to hide in the ſolitude of Capreæ. Rome, in the mean time, was a ſcene of ſlaughter, where ſuperior talents, virtue, truth, and innocence periſhed by the ſtroke of lawleſs power. The charge of violated majeſty was the ſignal of deſtruction, and a letter from Capreæ was a warrant for execution. The ſenate obeyed the mandate; no rule of law prevailed; juſtice was trampled under foot; reaſon and humanity were never heard; and all, who did not diſpatch themſelves, were ſure to periſh by the judgment of a corrupt tribunal. The iſlands were crowded with illuſtrious exiles, and the Tiber was diſcoloured with blood. After the death of Sejanus, the fury of the emperor roſe to the higheſt pitch, and at Rome the people followed his example. Nothing could appeaſe the ſpirit which had been rouſed againſt all, who ſtood in any degree connected with the unhappy favourite. Men of the firſt diſtinction, ſenators as well as Roman knights, were ſeized by the tyrant's order; ſome hurried to a dungeon, and others detained in the cuſtody of the magiſtrates.

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None escaped, except such as stooped to the infamous trade of informing against others. Numbers, who had been formerly under prosecution, and, in the hour of danger, were protected by Sejanus, were now cited to appear, and executed without mercy. Neither rank, nor sex, nor age was safe. Several, to avoid a sentence of condemnation, and save their fortunes for their children, died by their own hands. Some had the courage to set their enemies at defiance, and with becoming magnanimity stood forth to assert their innocence, determined, since their fate was unavoidable, to preserve, to the last, the honour of a fair and upright character.

THE

VI. IN the courſe of theſe proſecutions, no leſs than four-and-forty ſpeeches were made before the ſenate; ſome of them dictated by fear, and others by ſervile adulation, the epidemic vice of the times. Amidſt the general wreck, a ſenator *(a)* of diſtinguiſhed eminence, and ſuperior dignity of mind, finding himſelf doomed to deſtruction, called a meeting of his friends, and ſpoke to the following effect. "There was a time, when no human prudence "could foreſee, that the friendſhip, which ſubſiſted between Se-"janus and me, would either prove a reproach to him, or a "calamity to myſelf. A reverſe of fortune has changed the ſcene. "And yet, even at this day, the great perſon, who choſe Seja-"nus for his colleague, and even for his ſon-in-law, does not con-"demn his own partiality. Numbers there were, who courted "the miniſter in his meridian ſplendour, but in the moment of his "decline turned againſt him, with treachery and baſe ingratitude. "The firſt was their ſervility; the laſt was their crime. Which of "the two evils is the worſt, to ſuffer, on the one hand, for a faith-"ful attachment, or, on the other, to blacken the character of the "man whom we have loved, I ſhall not decide. The dilemma "is dreadful. For myſelf, I will not poorly wait to feel either "the cruelty or the compaſſion of any man. While I yet am "free; while I enjoy the congratulations of my own conſcience, "I will act as becomes a man, and outſtrip the malice of my ene-"mies. To you, my friends, this is my laſt requeſt: Purſue

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"me not with tears and vain regret: conſider death as an eſcape "from the miſeries of life; and add my name to thoſe heroic ſpi- "rits, who choſe to die with glory, rather than ſurvive to ſee the "ruin of their country."

VII. AFTER this diſcourſe, he paſſed a conſiderable part of the day in calm ſerenity, receiving the viſits of his friends, and taking leave of ſuch as choſe to depart. With a large circle round him, while all eyes beheld with admiration the undaunted courage, which appeared in his countenance, and gave reaſon to hope that his end was not ſo near, he fell upon the point of his ſword, which he had concealed under his mantle. Tiberius waged no war againſt his memory. To Blæſus, when that officer could no longer ſpeak for himſelf, he behaved with inveterate rancour; but this upright citizen was allowed to reſt in peace.

VIII. PUBLIUS VITELLIUS *(a)* and Pomponius Secundus were ſoon after cited to appear before the ſenate. Vitellius had been entruſted with the care of the public treaſury, and the military cheſt. He was charged with a deſign to ſurrender both for the ſervice of the conſpirators, with intent to overturn the government. The allegation againſt Pomponius was his intimacy with Ælius Gallus, who, immediately after the execution of Sejanus, fled to the gardens of the accuſed, deeming that place his ſafeſt ſanctuary. This charge was ſupported by Conſidius, a man of prætorian rank. In this diſtreſs, thoſe two eminent men had no reſource but the magnanimity of their brothers, who generouſly ſtood forth, and gave ſecurity for their appearance. Vitellius, haraſſed out by various delays, and at length weary of alternate hopes and fears, called for a pen-knife, as if going to write, and opened his veins, but with ſo ſlight a wound, that he continued to linger for ſome time longer. He died of a broken heart. Pompo-

nius, who was diſtinguiſhed no leſs by his genius, than by the gaiety and elegance of his manners, ſupported himſelf in adverſity with undaunted ſpirit, and ſurvived Tiberius.

IX. THE fury of the populace began to ſubſide, the blood already ſpilt having well nigh appeaſed their indignation. The fathers, however, did not relent. Two children of Sejanus, a ſon and a daughter, ſtill ſurvived the maſſacre of their family. They were both ſeized by order of the ſenate, and dragged to priſon. The ſon was grown up to years of diſcretion; but the daughter, as yet a tender infant, was inſenſible of her ſad condition. She was hurried through the ſtreets, aſking in a tone of ſimplicity, "What fault ſhe had committed? Whither were they "leading her? Tell her her offence, and ſhe would be guilty of "the like no more: they might chaſtiſe her, and ſhe would pro-"miſe to be good." A virgin *(a)* ſentenced to capital puniſhment was, at that time, a thing unheard of at Rome: but we are told by writers of good authority, that, to ſatisfy the forms of law, a deteſtable artifice was employed. The executioner deflowered her firſt, and ſtrangled her afterwards. Her brother ſuffered at the ſame time. Their bodies were thrown into the *Gemoniæ*, or the common charnel, where the vileſt malefactors were expoſed.

X. ABOUT this time, a report was ſpread through Greece and Aſia, that Druſus, the ſon of Germanicus, had been ſeen in the iſlands called the Cyclades, and afterwards on the continent. A young man, it ſeems, about the age of Druſus, aſſumed the name of that unfortunate prince. The emperor's freedmen encouraged the impoſtor, intending to favour him at firſt, and betray him in the end. A name ſo celebrated as that of Druſus drew together a large conflux of the common people. The genius of the Greeks, fond of novelty, and at all times addicted

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to the marvellous, helped to propagate the ſtory. The prince, they ſaid, had eſcaped from his confinement, and was then on his way to head the armies of Aſia, formerly commanded by his father. With that force he intended to make himſelf maſter of Ægypt, or of Syria. Such was the tale dreſſed up by the lively genius of the Greeks. What they invented, they were willing to believe. The hero of this romance had his train of followers, and the wiſhes of the multitude favoured his cauſe. The impoſtor, fluſhed with ſucceſs, began to anticipate his future grandeur.

Meanwhile, Poppæus Sabinus, the proconſular governor of Macedonia and Greece, but engaged at that time in the former province, received an account of this wild attempt. He reſolved to cruſh the adventurer without delay, and, accordingly, having paſſed the two bays of Toronis and Thermes, he croſſed over to Eubœa, an iſland in the Ægean ſea. From that place he ſailed to Piræum, on the coaſt of Athens, and thence to Corinth and the adjoining iſthmus. He there embarked on the oppoſite ſea, and ſteered his courſe to Nicopolis, a Roman colony, where he was informed that the impoſtor, when interrogated by perſons of ſkill and judgment, declared himſelf the ſon of Marcus Silanus. After this diſcovery, the number of his adherents falling off, he went on board a veſſel, with intent, as he himſelf gave out, to paſs over into Italy. Sabinus ſent this account to Tiberius. The affair ended here: of its origin, progreſs, or final iſſue, nothing further has reached our knowledge *(a)*.

XI. TOWARDS the cloſe of the year, warm diſſenſions broke out between the two conſuls. Their animoſities, which had been feſtering for ſome time, were now gathered to a head. Trio was by nature reſtleſs, bold, and turbulent. He had been

formerly exerciſed in the practice of the bar *(a)*, and thence more ready to provoke hoſtilities. He charged his colleague with too much lenity towards the accomplices of Sejanus. Regulus was a man of moderation; if not inſulted, modeſt; if provoked, neither ſtupid, nor unwilling to reſent an injury. Not content with refuting his adverſary, he threatened to arraign him, as an accomplice in the late conſpiracy. The fathers interpoſed their good offices to compromiſe a quarrel, which was likely to end in the ruin of both; but the ill will between the two conſuls was not to be appeaſed. They continued at variance, provoking and threatening each other during the reſt of the year.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK VI.

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These transactions include near six years.

Years of Rome	of Christ	Consuls.
785	32	*Cneius Domitius Oenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus.*
786	33	*Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla.*
787	34	*Paulus Fabius Persicus, Lucius Vitellius.*
788	35	*C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus.*
789	36	*Sext. Papinius Allenius, Quintus Plautius.*
790	37	*Cneius Acerronius Proculus, Caius Pontius Nigrinus.*

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I. CNEIUS DOMITIUS *(a)* and Camillus Scribonianus ſucceeded to the conſulſhip. They had not been long in office, when Tiberius croſſed the narrow ſea that divides the iſle of Capreæ from Surrentum, and ſailing along the coaſt of Campania, made his approach towards Rome, in doubt whether to enter the city; or, perhaps, becauſe he had determined otherwiſe, chooſing to raiſe expectations, which he never meant to gratify. He went on ſhore at various places; viſited his gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and, at length, having amuſed the people with falſe appearances, went back to hide himſelf, his vices, and ſenſualities amidſt the rocks of Capreæ. In that place he gave a looſe to his inordinate appetites, a tyrant even in his pleaſures. With

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With the pride of eaſtern deſpotiſm, he ſeized the young men of ingenuous birth, and forced them to yield to his brutal gratifications. Elegance of ſhape and beauty of feature were not his only incentives. The bluſh of modeſty ſerved as a provocative; and to ſtain the honour of reſpectable families, gave a zeſt to his enjoyments. New modes of ſenſuality were invented, and new terms for ſcandalous refinements in laſcivious pleaſure. Then, for the firſt time, were introduced into the Roman language the words SELLARII *(b)* and SPINTRIÆ; two words of the vileſt import, ſignifying at once the place of clandeſtine vice, and the unnatural experiments of infamous proſtitution. Slaves were employed to provide objects of deſire, with full commiſſion to allure the venal with preſents, and to conquer the reluctant by threats and violence. If friends interpoſed in the defence of youth and innocence; if a parent attempted to protect his child, ruffian force was exerciſed. Compulſion and captivity followed. Like ſlaves by conqueſt, all were at the mercy of a deteſtable crew, whoſe buſineſs it was to pander for the paſſions of their maſter.

II. AT Rome, in the mean time, the guilt of the younger Livia *(a)*, as if ſhe had not been ſufficiently puniſhed, was reſumed with warmth and violence. The ſenate thundered forth decrees againſt her memory, and her very ſtatues. The property of Sejanus was ordered to be removed from the public treaſury *(b)*, to the coffers of the prince; as if, in either place, it would not have been equally at his diſpoſal. The Scipios, the Silani, and the Caſſii were the authors of this alteration. They propoſed the meaſure, and enforced it with their beſt ability, but with little variance either in the language, or the argument.

Togonius Gallus had the ill-timed ambition to mix his name, however obſcure and inſignificant, with men of the higheſt rank.

He made himſelf ridiculous; and malignity, for that reaſon, was willing to liſten to him. He propoſed that out of a number of ſenators, choſen by the prince, twenty ſhould be drawn by lot, to ſerve under arms, as a guard to Tiberius, whenever he ſhould chooſe to honour the ſenate with his preſence. This extravagant motion ſprung from the folly of a man, who was weak enough to believe *(c)* that the emperor was in earneſt, when he deſired, by letter, that one of the conſuls ſhould be ſent to guard him on his way from Capreæ to Rome. Tiberius, according to his cuſtom, mingling a vein of irony with ſerious buſineſs, thanked the fathers for this mark of their care. He deſired to know, "who were to be elected into the body-guard, and who rejected? "Was it to be an office for life, or by rotation? Were they to be "draughted from the younger part of the ſenate, or to conſiſt of "ſuch as had paſſed through the gradations of the magiſtracy? "Muſt they be actual magiſtrates, or men in a private ſtation? "And again, when the ſenators, ſword in hand *(d)*, were drawn "up rank and file in the porch of the ſenate-houſe, what kind of "ſcene would that motley appearance preſent to the people? A life, "which muſt be thus defended, was not worth his care." In this ſtrain of raillery he replied to Togonius, adding nothing harſh, and not a word of ſerious tendency to over-rule the motion.

III. JUNIUS GALLIO *(a)* was not let off on the ſame eaſy terms. He had given his opinion that the ſoldiers of the prætorian band, having ſerved the requiſite time, ſhould enjoy the privilege of ſitting on the fourteen rows *(b)* of the theatre, appropriated to the Roman knights. Againſt the mover of this innovation Tiberius launched out with vehemence, and, though abſent, with all the ardour of a perſonal expoſtulation. He aſked, "what buſi-"neſs has Gallio to interfere with the military line? Why inter-"meddle with thoſe, whoſe duty it is to receive their orders, and "the

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"the reward of their ſervice, from the emperor only? A new "plan of policy, unknown to the wiſdom of Auguſtus, has been "broached by the ſuperior genius of this able ſtateſman! Perhaps, "it was the project of a man, bred in the ſchool of Sejanus, with "a view to kindle the flame of diſcord, and, under colour of diſ-"penſing military honours, to ſeduce the affections of the army, "to the ruin of diſcipline and all good order." Such were the wages earned by flattery. Gallio intended to pay his court, and, for his attempt, was expelled the ſenate, and baniſhed out of Italy. He retired to Leſbos; but it being ſuggeſted, that, in the charming ſcenes of that delightful iſland, what was intended as a puniſhment, would be, in fact, a pleaſing recompenſe, he was brought back to Rome, and ordered into cloſe confinement in the houſe of a civil magiſtrate.

In the letter which directed this proceeding, Tiberius marked out Sextius Paconianus, of prætorian rank, as another victim. The fathers received, with pleaſure, the condemnation of a man, whom they knew to be of a bold and turbulent ſpirit, willing to embark in any ſcheme of iniquity, and infamous for the pernicious talent of worming himſelf into the ſecrets of others. When Sejanus began to meditate the deſtruction of Caligula, he choſe this man for his confidential agent. That dark conſpiracy being now laid open, every breaſt was fired with indignation; and if the miſcreant had not prevented his fate, by offering to make important diſcoveries, the ſenate was ready to adjudge him to inſtant death.

IV. THE perſon, againſt whom he informed, was the well-known Latinius Latiaris. The accuſer and the accuſed were objects of public execration; and the ſpectacle, which they both preſented, diffuſed a univerſal ſatisfaction. Latiaris *(a)*, the

reader will remember, was the chief inſtrument in the ruin of Sabinus. Of the ſeveral actors in that foul tranſaction he was the firſt that paid the forfeit of his crimes. In the courſe of this day's debate, Haterius Agrippa attacked the conſuls of the preceding year. "After mutual accuſations, why did they now "remain ſilent? Fear, and their own conſciences, have made "them compromiſe all matters in diſpute. They are joined in "bonds of the ſtricteſt union. But the ſenate heard their mutual "accuſations, and ought now to inſtitute a ſerious enquiry." Regulus replied, that in due time it was his intention to bring the buſineſs forward, but he waited for the preſence of the emperor. Trio obſerved, that their hoſtilities were nothing more than the jealouſy that often happens between colleagues in office; but ſuch petty diſputes ought not to be revived. This did not ſatisfy Agrippa. He ſtill perſiſted, till Sanquinius Maximus, of conſular rank, roſe to allay the ferment. He entreated the fathers to be cautious how they multiplied the cares of the emperor. To be ingenious in framing new complaints, was not their province. They might rely on the wiſdom of Tiberius, comprehenſive as they knew it to be, and equal to the taſk of remedying every evil. In conſequence of this conciliating ſpeech, Regulus remained in full ſecurity, and the ruin of Trio *(b)* was deferred to a further day. As to Haterius Agrippa, the violence of his conduct made him more than ever an object of the public hatred. Too indolent for a life of buſineſs, he paſſed his days in ſleep, and his nights in riot and debauchery. His vices made him an enervated ſluggard, and, at the ſame time, ſkreened him from the cruelty of a jealous and unforgiving tyrant. And yet this man, amidſt the joys of wine, and in the harlot's lap, had the malevolence to plan the ruin of the moſt illuſtrious citizens.

V. MESSALINUS COTTA, the ready author of the moſt ſanguinary

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guinary meaſures, was the next perſon accuſed. This proſecution called forth a multitude of enemies. All were eager to have their full blow at a man long known and deteſted. The charge againſt him was, that, to fix on Caius Cæſar *(a)* the imputation of unnatural vices, he had called the young prince by the female name of Caia, and, at a banquet given by the pontiffs, in honour of the birth-day of Livia, he called that feaſt a *(b)* funeral entertainment. It was further alleged, that, in a law-ſuit with Manius Lepidus, and Lucius Arruntius, he complained of the weight and influence of his adverſaries, but ſaid at the ſame time, "Let them boaſt "of their intereſt with the ſenate; my little friend Tiberius will "outweigh them all." In ſupport of this charge, the firſt men in Rome were willing witneſſes. Cotta knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cauſe by appeal to the emperor. Tiberius, in a letter to the ſenate, made the apology of Cotta: he ſtated the friendſhip, which had long ſubſiſted between them, and the obligations, by which he himſelf was bound. He concluded with a requeſt, that words caſually ſpoken, and ſallies of vivacity in the moments of convivial mirth, might not be converted into crimes.

VI. THE letter, ſent by Tiberius on this occaſion, is too remarkable to be here omitted. His words were as follows: "What "to write *(a)*, conſcript fathers; in what terms to expreſs myſelf, "or what to refrain from writing, is a matter of ſuch perplexity, "that if I know how to decide, may the juſt gods, and the god-"deſſes of vengeance, doom me to die in pangs, worſe than thoſe "under which I linger every day." We have here the features of the inward man. His crimes retaliated upon him with the keeneſt retribution; ſo true is the ſaying of the great philoſopher *(b)*, the oracle of ancient wiſdom, that if the minds of tyrants were laid open to our view, we ſhould ſee them gaſhed and mangled

with the whips and ſtings of horror and remorſe. By blows and ſtripes the fleſh is made to quiver, and, in like manner, cruelty, and inordinate paſſions, malice and evil deeds, become internal executioners, and with unceaſing torture goad and lacerate the heart. Of this truth Tiberius is a melancholy inſtance. Neither the imperial dignity, nor the gloom of ſolitude, nor the rocks of Capreæ, could ſhield him from himſelf. He lived on the rack of guilt, and his wounded ſpirit groaned in agony.

VII. CÆCILIANUS, the ſenator, had taken an active part in the proſecution of Meſſalinus Cotta. For that offence Tiberius left him to the diſcretion of the fathers, who thought fit to inflict the pains and penalties, which they had pronounced againſt Aruſeius and Sanquinius, the two informers againſt Lucius Arruntius. The deciſion was honourable to Cotta; a man, it is true, of illuſtrious birth, but beggared by his vices, and for the profligacy of his manners univerſally abhorred. The redreſs, which he now obtained, placed him on a level with the unblemiſhed excellence that diſtinguiſhed the character of Arruntius.

Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus were, in the next place, both arraigned. The former was of prætorian rank, and had been the companion of Germanicus in all his expeditions; the latter was a Roman knight, who had enjoyed the friendſhip of Sejanus, but with reſerve and moderation. Their misfortunes excited compaſſion. Tiberius declared againſt them both. He called them the principal agents in that dark conſpiracy, and, for proof of the fact, deſired that Ceſtius, a member of the ſenate, would give in evidence what he had written to the emperor. Ceſtius became their accuſer.

Among the calamities of that black period, the moſt trying

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grievance was the degenerate ſpirit, with which the firſt men in the ſenate ſubmitted to the drudgery of common informers; ſome without a bluſh, in the face of day; and others by clandeſtine artifices. The contagion was epidemic. Near relations, aliens in blood, friends and ſtrangers, known and unknown, were, without diſtinction, all involved in one common danger. The fact recently committed, and the tale revived, were equally deſtructive. Words alone were ſufficient; whether ſpoken in the forum, or amidſt the pleaſures of the table, was immaterial. Whatever the occaſion or the ſubject *(a)*, every thing was a conſtructive crime. Informers ſtruggled, as it were in a race, who ſhould be firſt to ruin his man; ſome to ſecure themſelves; the greater part infected by the general corruption of the times.

Minutius and Servæus were both condemned, but ſaved themſelves by giving evidence againſt others. They accuſed Julius Africanus, a native of Gaul, and Seius Quadratus, of whoſe origin no account remains. Of the various dangers that threatened numbers, and the execution of others, I am aware that no accurate account is to be found in the hiſtorians of the time. The writer ſunk under the weight of his materials, and, feeling himſelf oppreſſed by the repetition of tragic events, was unwilling to fatigue his readers with the uniformity of blood and horror. It has happened, however, that, in the reſearches which I have made, ſeveral facts have come to light, untouched, it is true, by the pen of others, yet not unworthy of being recorded.

VIII. In that dangerous criſis, when the creatures of Sejanus, denying their connections, were making from the wreck, Marcus Terentius, a Roman knight, had the ſpirit to avow his friendſhip in a ſpeech to the following effect: "In my ſituation, "conſcript fathers, I know the danger of owning myſelf the "friend

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"friend of Sejanus; and I know that to diſclaim him alto-
"gether would be the beſt mode of defence. Be that as it
"may, I am willing to declare my ſentiments. I was the friend
"of that miniſter; I ſought his patronage, and I gloried in it.
"I ſaw him aſſociated with his father in the command of the
"prætorian bands: I ſaw him afterwards, not only at the head
"of the military department, but inveſted with the whole civil
"authority. His friends and relations roſe to honours; and to
"be in his good graces, was a ſure road to the favour of the
"prince. On the other hand, all, on whom the miniſter
"frowned, were either cruſhed by the weight of power, or left
"to languiſh in obſcurity. I forbear to mention names. Speak-
"ing in my own defence, I plead the cauſe of all who, like
"myſelf, were connected with the favourite, and, like myſelf,
"were unconſcious of his laſt deſigns.

"In paying court to Sejanus, it was not the Vulſinian citizen,
"whom we endeavoured to conciliate; it was a branch of the
"Claudian and the Julian families; it was the ſon-in-law of
"Cæſar; it was his colleague in the conſulſhip; it was his
"vicegerent in the adminiſtration, to whom our homage was
"offered. Is it the pleaſure of the emperor to raiſe a favourite
"above his fellow citizens? It is not for us to eſtimate the merit
"of the man, nor ours to weigh the motives that determine
"the choice. The ſupreme power is in the hands of the prince;
"committed to him by the gods: and ſubmiſſion is the virtue of
"every citizen. Of the myſteries of ſtate we ſee no more than
"what he is willing to reveal: we ſee who is raiſed to dig-
"nities, and who has power to diſtribute the rewards and the
"terrors of government. That the rays of majeſty were col-
"lected, and fell on Sejanus, no man will deny. The ſenti-
"ments of the prince are to us impenetrable. The ſecret ſprings

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" of action it is not in our power to diſcover; the attempt were " dangerous, and may deceive the ableſt ſtateſman.

" When I ſpeak of Sejanus, conſcript fathers, I do not ſpeak " of the miniſter, fallen from the height of power, undone, and " ruined. I ſpeak of Sejanus, ſixteen years in the meridian " of his glory. During that time, a Satrius Secundus and a " Pomponius commanded our reſpect. And if his freedmen, " or the porter at his gate, condeſcended to be gracious, we conſi- " dered it as the higheſt honour. But to come to the point: " Shall this be the defence of all who followed the fortunes of " Sejanus? By no means, conſcript fathers; draw the line your- " ſelves; let the enemies of the commonwealth, and the con- " ſpirators againſt the prince, be delivered up to public juſtice; " but let the offices of friendſhip remain inviolate; and let the " principle, which juſtifies the choice of the prince, be at leaſt an " apology for the ſubject."

IX. THE firmneſs of this ſpeech, and the ſpirit of the man, who could boldly utter what others only dared to think, made ſuch an impreſſion, that the proſecutors, for their former crimes added to their preſent malignity, were either driven into baniſhment, or condemned to death. Tiberius ſoon after ſent an accuſation againſt Sextus Veſtilius, of prætorian rank, and formerly high in favour with Druſus, the emperor's brother. Tiberius, for that reaſon, had received him with open arms, and ranked him in the number of his intimate friends. The crime now laid to his charge was a ſatirical piece againſt Caligula, for which Veſtilius, the real, or the ſuppoſed author, was excluded from the emperor's table. In deſpair, he opened a vein, but with the trembling hand of age. The wound was ſlight, and he tied it up again, in order to try the effect of a petition. Having

Having received an obdurate anſwer, he once more made uſe of his weapon, and bled to death.

The next proſecution was intended to make a ſweep of a great number at once. Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, and Sabinus Calviſius, were grouped together in a charge of violated majeſty. Vinicianus was added to his father Pollio. They were all men of the firſt rank, and ſome of them inveſted with the higheſt civil honours. The ſenate was ſtruck with terror. Few in that aſſembly ſtood detached, either in point of friendſhip or alliance, from the perſons accuſed. It happened that the evidence of Celſus, a tribune of the city cohorts, and one of the proſecutors, acquitted Appius Silanus and Calviſius. The trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was put off, by order of Tiberius, till he himſelf ſhould think proper to attend in perſon. In the mean time, ſome pointed expreſſions in his letter plainly ſhewed that Scaurus was the chief object of his reſentment.

X. Not even the ſofter ſex could find a ſhelter from the calamity of the times. Women, it is true, could not be charged with deſigns to overturn the government; but natural affection was made a crime, and the parental tear was treaſon. Vitia, the mother of Fufius Geminus, wept for her ſon, and for that offence, in an advanced age, ſhe was put to death. Such were the horrible proceedings of the ſenate. Tiberius in his iſland was no leſs vindictive. By his order, Veſcularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, his two earlieſt friends, who had followed him to the iſle of Rhodes, and ſtill adhered to him in the iſle of Capreæ, were hurried to execution. In the ruin of Libo, the firſt had been the active agent of the emperor; and in the plot, by which Sejanus wrought the downfal of Curtius Atticus, Marinus

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Marinus was the principal actor. The public ſaw, with pleaſure, that the authors of deſtruction periſhed by their own pernicious arts.

About this time Lucius Piſo, the præfect of Rome *(a)*, paid his debt to nature. He had lived his days with honour, and, what was rare in that black period, though high in rank and authority, he died by mere decay. A man of principle, and never, of his own motion, the author of harſh or violent meaſures; he was able frequently to prevent or mitigate deſtructive counſels. Piſo the cenſor, as already mentioned, was his father. The ſon lived to the age of fourſcore. By his ſervices in the wars of Thrace he obtained triumphal ornaments; but his trueſt triumph, the glory of his character, aroſe from the wiſdom, with which he acted as governor of Rome, tempering, with wonderful addreſs, the rigour of an office, odious on account of its novelty, and rendered, by its duration, a galling yoke to the people.

XI. The origin of this inſtitution may be traced in the early ages of Rome. While the monarchy continued, and afterwards under the conſular government, that the city might not be left, during the abſence of the king or conſuls, in a ſtate of anarchy, a civil magiſtrate was inveſted with the whole executive authority. By Romulus, we are told, Romulius Denter was appointed; Numa Marcius, by Tullus Hoſtilius; and Spurius Lucretius *(a)*, by Tarquin the Proud. That precedent was followed by the conſuls; and, even at this day, we find an image of the cuſtom in the temporary magiſtrate, who, during the Latin feſtivals, diſcharges the functions of the conſul. In the time of the civil wars, Auguſtus delegated the ſupreme authority, both at Rome and throughout Italy, to Cilnius Mæcenas, a Roman

knight. When the ſucceſs of his arms made him maſter of the empire, finding an unwieldy government on his hands, and a ſlow and feeble remedy from the laws, he choſe a perſon of conſular rank, to reſtrain, by ſpeedy juſtice, the ſlaves within due bounds, and to controul the licentious ſpirit of the citizens, ever turbulent, and, if not overawed, prone to innovation. The firſt that roſe to this important poſt was Meſſala Corvinus, who found himſelf unequal to the taſk, and reſigned in a few days. Taurus Statilius ſucceeded, and, notwithſtanding his advanced age, acquitted himſelf with honour and ability. Lucius Piſo was the next in office. During a ſeries of twenty years, he diſcharged the duties of that difficult ſtation with ſuch an even tenor, and ſuch conſtant dignity, that, by a decree of the ſenate, he was honoured with a public funeral.

XII. A REPORT relating to a book of the Sybils *(a)* was preſented to the ſenate by Quinctilianus, a tribune of the people. Caninius Gallus, who was of the college of fifteen, conſidered this book as the undoubted compoſition of the Cumæan propheteſs; and, as ſuch, deſired that, by a decree, it might be enrolled in the proper archives. The queſtion was put, and carried *(b)* without oppoſition. Tiberius, by letter, condemned the whole proceeding. The youth of Quinctilianus, he admitted, might be an apology for his ignorance of ancient cuſtoms; but he obſerved, and not without aſperity, that it ill became a man like Gallus, verſed in the ſcience of laws and religious ceremonies, to adopt the performance of an uncertain author, without having firſt obtained the ſanction of the quindecemviral college, and, without ſo much as reading it, as had been the practice, at a meeting of the pontiffs. Beſides this, the vote was paſſed by ſurpriſe in a thin meeting of the ſenate. He added further, that ſince the world abounded with ſpurious productions, falſely

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aſcribed to the venerable name of the ancient Sybil, it had been the wiſdom of Auguſtus *(c)* to fix a ſtated day, on or before which all papers of the kind were to be depoſited with the prætors, and none, after the limited time, to remain in private hands. For this regulation there was an ancient precedent. After the ſocial war, when the Capitol was deſtroyed by fire, diligent ſearch was made at Samos, at Ilium, at Erythræ, in Africa, Sicily, and all the Roman colonies, in order to collect the Sybilline verſes, whether the production of a ſingle propheteſs, or of a greater number; and the ſacerdotal order had directions, as far as human ſagacity could diſtinguiſh, to ſeparate the fictitious from the genuine compoſition. In conſequence of this letter, the book in queſtion was referred to the college of fifteen, called the QUINDECEMVIRI.

XIII. DURING the ſame conſulſhip, the diſtreſs, occaſioned by a dearth of corn, well nigh excited a popular inſurrection. For ſeveral days the clamour in the theatre was outrageous beyond all former example. Tiberius wrote to the ſenate, and, in terms of keen reproach, cenſured the inactivity of the magiſtrates, who ſuffered the mutinous ſpirit of the populace to rage without controul; he ſtated the quantity of grain imported annually by his orders, and the provinces from which he drew his ſupplies, far exceeding the importation formerly made by Auguſtus. To reſtore the public tranquillity, the ſenate paſſed a decree in the ſtyle and ſpirit of the old republic. The conſuls followed it with an edict of equal rigour. The emperor took no part in the buſineſs; but his ſilence gained him no popularity: he flattered himſelf with hopes that it would paſs for the moderation of a republican prince; but it was deemed the ſullen pride of a tyrant.

XIV. To-

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XIV. TOWARDS the end of the year, three Roman knights, by name, Geminius, Celſus, and Pompeius, were charged with a conſpiracy, and condemned to ſuffer. Geminius had been a man of pleaſure, and great prodigality. His taſte for expence and luxury recommended him to the friendſhip of Sejanus, but a friendſhip merely convivial, leading to no ſerious connection. Junius Celſus, at that time one of the tribunes, as he lay fettered in priſon, contrived to lengthen out his chain, ſo as to wind it round his neck, and ſtrangle himſelf.

About the ſame time, Rubrius Fabatus, who had fled from the city, with intent to ſeek among the Parthians a refuge from the diſaſters of the time, was apprehended, by a centurion, near the ſtreights of Sicily, and brought back to Rome. Being queſtioned, he was not able, with any colour of probability, to account for his ſudden departure on ſo long a journey. He eſcaped, however, though not by an act of clemency. He continued to live in ſafety, not pardoned, but forgotten.

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XV. SERVIUS GALBA and Lucius Sylla were the next conſuls. Tiberius ſaw his *(a)* grand-daughters in the ſeaſon of life, that made it proper to diſpoſe of them in marriage. On that ſubject he had deliberated for ſome time. His choice, at length, fixed on Lucius Caſſius and Marcus Vinicius. Vinicius was born at a ſmall municipal town, known by the name of CALES. His father and grandfather were of conſular rank; but the family, before their time, never roſe higher than the equeſtrian order. Their deſcendant united to his amiable manners a vein of pleaſing eloquence. Caſſius was born at Rome, of a plebeian, but reſpected family. He was educated under the ſtrict tuition of his father, but ſucceeded more through happineſs than care and induſtry. To theſe two the daughters of Germanicus were given

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in marriage; Druſilla to Caſſius, and Julia to Vinicius. Tiberius, in his letters to the ſenate, made honourable mention of the young men, but in a ſtyle of reſerve. He touched on his long abſence from the capital, and, after gloſſing it over with vague and frivolous reaſons, talked in a more ſerious tone of the weight of government, and the animoſities which he was obliged to encounter. He deſired that Macro, præfect of the prætorian guards, with a ſmall number of tribunes and centurions, might have directions to guard his perſon, as often as he ſhould attend the ſenate. A decree was paſſed in the ampleſt form, according to his deſire, without limitation of rank or number. Tiberius, notwithſtanding, never appeared in the aſſembly of the fathers, nor even entered the walls of Rome. He made feigned approaches, ſtill retreating through devious roads, ſuſpecting the people, and flying from his country.

XVI. The practice of uſury was a grievance that diſtreſſed the whole community. Againſt ſuch as ſought to increaſe their wealth by placing out money *(a)* at exorbitant intereſt, actions were commenced. The money-lenders were accuſed under a law enacted by Julius Cæſar, whereby the terms of lending on land-ſecurity, throughout Italy, were defined and ſettled; a wiſe and ſalutary law, but fallen into diſuſe, the public good, as is too often the caſe, giving way to private advantage. Uſury, it muſt be admitted, was an early canker of the commonwealth, the frequent cauſe of tumult and ſedition. Laws were made to repreſs the miſchief, while yet the manners were pure and uncorrupted. In the firſt ages of the commonwealth, intereſt of money was arbitrary, depending on the will and pleaſure of the opulent; but, by a law of the twelve tables, it was reduced to one for the hundred. More was declared illegal. In proceſs of time a new regulation, propoſed by the tribunes, lowered it to one half; and, finally, it

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was aboliſhed altogether. It began however to revive, and, to ſuppreſs its growth, new ſanctions were eſtabliſhed by the authority of the people: but fraud found new expedients, often checked, and as often re-appearing in different ſhapes. In the reign of Tiberius, at the point of time now in queſtion, the complaint was brought before Gracchus the prætor, who was empowered, by virtue of his office, to hear and determine. That magiſtrate, however, ſeeing numbers involved in the queſtion, ſubmitted the whole to the conſideration of the ſenate. In that order few were exempt from the general vice. Alarmed for themſelves, and wiſhing to obtain a general immunity, the fathers referred the buſineſs to the emperor. Tiberius complied with their requeſt. A year and ſix months were granted, that men, in that time, might adjuſt and ſettle their accounts, according to law.

XVII. THE want of current money brought on a new ſcene of diſtreſs. Creditors preſſed to have their accounts balanced, and judgment was ſigned againſt ſuch as ſtood indebted. Their effects were ſold, and all the ſpecie was either carried to the public treaſury, or ſwallowed up in the coffers of the prince. To alleviate this inconvenience, the ſenate ordered, by a decree, that two thirds of each man's debt ſhould be ſecured on lands in Italy. But ſtill the creditors claimed the whole of their demand, and the debtor, by conſequence, was reduced to the brink of ruin. He wiſhed to ſave his honour; the neceſſity preſſed; meetings were held, ſupplications were tried, but the law took its courſe. The tribunal of the prætor reſounded with complaints, and noiſe, and lamentations. The project of obliging the debtor to ſell his lands, and the creditors to purchaſe, inſtead of healing the miſchief, made it worſe. The uſurers lay in wait to buy at a reduced price, and, for that purpoſe, hoarded up their money. The value of lands ſunk in proportion to the number of eſtates on ſale,

and

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and the debtor was left without reſource. Whole families were ruined; their credit was deſtroyed, and every proſpect vaniſhed. Tiberius interpoſed with ſeaſonable relief. He opened a fund of one hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, as a public loan for three years, free from intereſt, on condition that the borrower, for the ſecurity of the ſtate, ſhould mortgage lands of double the value. By this ſalutary aid public credit was revived. The money, which had lain in private hands, began to circulate; and the order of the ſenate, directing the ſale of land-property, fell into diſuſe. Like moſt plans of reformation, it was embraced at firſt with ardour; but the novelty ceaſed, and the ſcheme ended in nothing.

XVIII. THE rage of proſecutions, from which Rome had an interval of reſt, broke out again with collected fury. The firſt that ſuffered was Confidius Proculus, on a charge of violated majeſty. On his birth-day, while he was celebrating that annual feſtival, he was ſeized, in the moment of joy, and conducted to the ſenate-houſe, where he was tried, condemned, and hurried away to execution. His ſiſter, Sancia, was interdicted from fire and water. The proſecutor, who appeared againſt her, was Quintus Pomponius, a fierce and turbulent ſpirit. To curry favour with the prince, and thereby ſave his brother, Pomponius Secundus, was the pretence with which this man endeavoured to palliate his iniquity. The ſenate proceeded next againſt Pompeia Macrina. She was condemned to baniſhment. Her huſband, Argolicus, and Laco, her father-in-law, both of diſtinguiſhed rank in Achaia, had, before this time, fallen victims to the cruelty of Tiberius. Macrina's father, an illuſtrious Roman knight, and her brother, who was of prætorian rank, to avoid a ſimilar ſentence, put an end to their lives. The crime alleged againſt them, was, that their anceſtor, Theophanes of Mitylene, had been the confi-

confidential friend of Pompey the Great; and that divine honours were paid to the memory of Theophanes by the flattering genius of the Greek nation.

XIX. SEXTUS MARIUS, who held the largeſt poſſeſſions in Spain, was the next victim. Inceſt with his own daughter was the imputed crime: he was precipitated down the Tarpeian rock. That the avarice of Tiberius was the motive for this act of violence, was ſeen beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, when the gold mines of the unfortunate Spaniard, which were forfeited to the public, were known to be ſeized by the emperor for his own uſe. He was now ſo far plunged in blood, that executions ſerved only to whet his cruelty. At one blow, he ordered all, who were detained in priſon for their ſuppoſed connection with Sejanus, to be put to inſtant death. A dreadful carnage followed: neither ſex nor age was ſpared; the noble and ignoble periſhed without diſtinction; dead bodies in mangled heaps, or ſcattered up and down, preſented a tragic ſpectacle. Neither friend, nor relation, dared to approach; none were permitted to ſooth the pangs of death, to weep over the deceaſed, or to bid the laſt farewel. Guards were ſtationed to watch the looks of afflicted friends, and to catch intelligence from their tears; till, at length, the putrid bodies were thrown into the Tiber, to drive at the mercy of the winds and waves. Some were carried away by the current; others were thrown on ſhore: but to burn or bury them was allowed to no man. All were ſtruck with terror, and the laſt office of humanity was ſuppreſſed. Cruelty went on increaſing, and every ſentiment of the heart was ſmothered in ſilence.

XX. ABOUT this time, Caligula, who paid cloſe attendance on his grandfather in the iſle of Capreæ, was married to Claudia *(a)*, the daughter of Marcus Silanus. This young prince had

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the art to conceal, under a veil of modeſty, the moſt deteſtable of human characters. Neither the condemnation of his mother, nor the baniſhment of his brother, could extort from him one word of compaſſion. He ſtudied the humours of Tiberius; he watched the whim of the day, and ſet his features accordingly, in dreſs and language the mimic of his grandfather. Hence the ſhrewd remark of Paſſienus, the famous orator: "There never was a "better ſlave, nor a more deteſtable maſter." A prophetic expreſſion, that fell from Tiberius concerning Galba, who was this year in the office of conſul, may not unaptly be inſerted in this place. Having called him to an audience, in order to penetrate his inmoſt thoughts, he tried him on various topics, and, at length, told him in Greek, "You too, Galba, at a future day, will have "a taſte of ſovereign power;" alluding to his elevation late in life, and the ſhortneſs of his reign. To look into the ſeeds of time was the early ſtudy of Tiberius. In the iſle of Rhodes, judicial aſtrology was his favourite purſuit. In the acquiſition of that ſcience, he there employed his leiſure, under Thraſullus, whoſe abilities he tried in the following manner.

XXI. WHENEVER he choſe to conſult an aſtrologer, he retired with him to the top of the houſe, attended by a ſingle freedman, ſelected for the purpoſe, illiterate, but of great bodily ſtrength. This man conducted the ſoothſayer, whoſe talents were to be tried, along the ridge of the cliff, on which the manſion ſtood; and as he returned, if the emperor ſuſpected fraud, or vain affectation of knowledge, he threw the impoſtor headlong into the ſea. Tiberius was, by theſe means, left at eaſe, and no witneſs ſurvived to tell the ſtory. Thraſullus was put to the ſame teſt. Being led along the precipice, he anſwered a number of queſtions; and not only promiſed imperial ſplendor to Tiberius, but opened a ſcene of future events, in a manner that filled his imagination with

with aſtoniſhment. Tiberius deſired to know, "whether he "had caſt his own nativity? Could he foreſee what was to hap- "pen in the courſe of the year? nay, on that very day?" Thraſullus conſulted the poſition of the heavens, and the aſpect of the planets: he was ſtruck with fear; he pauſed; he heſitated; he ſunk into profound meditation; terror and amazement ſhook his frame. Breaking ſilence at laſt, "I perceive," he ſaid, "the "criſis of my fate; this very moment may be my laſt." Tiberius claſped him in his arms, congratulating him both on his knowledge, and his eſcape from danger. From that moment, he conſidered the predictions of Thraſullus as the oracles of truth, and the aſtrologer was ranked in the number of the prince's confidential friends.

XXII. WHEN I reflect on this fact, and others of a ſimilar nature, I find my judgment ſo much on the balance, that, whether human affairs are governed *(a)* by fate and immutable neceſſity, or left to the wild rotation of chance, I am not able to decide. Among the philoſophers of antiquity, and the followers of their different ſects among the moderns, two oppoſite opinions have prevailed. According to the ſyſtem of one party, "in all that "relates to man, his formation, his progreſs, and his end, the "gods have no concern; and, by conſequence, calamity is often "the good man's portion, while vice enjoys the pleaſures and ad- "vantages of the world." In oppoſition to this hypotheſis, another ſchool maintains, "that the immutable law of fate is per- "fectly conſiſtent with the events of the moral world; that "law, they tell us, does not depend on the courſe of wandering "planets, but is fixed in the firſt principles of things, ſupported "and preſerved by a chain of natural cauſes. Man, notwith- "ſtanding, is left at liberty to chooſe his ſphere of action; but "the choice once made, the conſequences follow in a regular

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"courſe, fixed, certain, and inevitable." By this ſect we are further taught, "that good and evil are not always what vulgar "error has ſo defined; on the contrary, many, whom we ſee "ſtruggling with adverſity, are yet perfectly happy; while others, "in all the pride and affluence of fortune, are truly wretched. "The former, by their fortitude, tower above the ills of life; and "the latter, by their indiſcretion, poiſon their own felicity."

Sublime as this theory may be, there is ſtill a third opinion, which has taken root in the human mind, and cannot be eradicated. According to this doctrine, the colour of our lives is fixed in the firſt moment of our exiſtence; and, though what is foretold, and the events that follow, may often vary, the fallacy is not to be imputed to the art itſelf, but to the vanity of pretenders to a ſcience, reſpected by antiquity, and in modern times eſtabliſhed by undoubted proof. In fact, the reign of Nero was foretold by the ſon of this very Thraſullus: but this, to avoid a long digreſſion, ſhall be reſerved for its proper place *(b)*.

XXII. DURING the ſame conſulſhip, the death of Aſinius Gallus *(a)* became publicly known. That he died by famine, no man doubted; but whether through compulſion, or wilful abſtinence, is uncertain. Application was made for leave to perform his funeral obſequies; nor did Tiberius bluſh to grant as a favour, what was the common right of man. He regretted, however, that a criminal, before he could be convicted in his preſence, had eſcaped the hand of juſtice; as if in three years, ſince the charge was laid, there was not ſufficient time to proceed againſt a man of conſular rank, and the father of conſuls.

The death of Druſus *(b)* followed. By order of Tiberius he was to be ſtarved to death. By chewing the weeds that ſerved

for his bed, the unhappy prince lingered nine days in misery. At the time when Macro received his orders to act with vigour againſt Sejanus, Tiberius, as ſome writers aſſert, gave directions, if that deſperate miniſter had recourſe to arms, that Druſus, then confined in the palace, ſhould be produced to the people, and proclaimed emperor. In conſequence of this report, an opinion prevailed, that the prince was on the point of being reconciled to his grandſon and his daughter-in-law. But to relent was not in the temper of Tiberius: he was ſuppoſed to be mercifully inclined, and he choſe rather to diſplay his cruelty.

XXIV. The death of Druſus was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the vengeance of Tiberius. He perſecuted the memory of the prince with unextinguiſhed hatred; he imputed to him unnatural paſſions, and repreſented him as a perſon, who had not only loſt all family affection, but, being poſſeſſed of an aſpiring genius, was actually employed in concerting meaſures to overturn the government. He ordered a day-book to be read before the fathers, in which the words and actions of Druſus were carefully recorded. In the annals of hiſtory is there any thing to match this black, this horrible inquiſition? For a length of time ſpies of ſtate were appointed to keep a regiſter of words, to interpret looks, and note the groans that iſſued from the heart. That the grandfather could countenance a plot ſo black and deteſtable; that he could liſten to the whiſpered tale; read a clandeſtine journal, and not only read it in ſecret, but produce it in the face of day, appears too atrocious to be believed, if the fact were not authenticated by the letters of Actius the centurion, and Didymus the freedman. In the narrative left by thoſe men, we find the names of the ſlaves employed about the prince's perſon. One ſtruck him, as he came forth from his chamber; another overpowered him with terror and diſmay.

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The centurion, as if brutality were a merit, boaſts of his ſavage expreſſions. He relates the words of the prince, in the laſt ebb of life, ſpoken againſt Tiberius, at firſt, perhaps, in a feigned delirium, but, when his end drew near, in a tone of ſolemn imprecation, imploring the gods, that he, who imbrued his hands in the blood of his daughter-in-law; who murdered his nephew; who deſtroyed his grand-children, and in his own family laid a ſcene of ſlaughter, might not eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes. "Reſerve him," he ſaid, "reſerve him, gods! for your "own juſt vengeance: let him fall a terrible example to the pre- "ſent age, and to all poſterity." The fathers, affecting to ſhudder at imprecations ſo eager and emphatic, interrupted the reading; but they felt the impreſſion at their hearts. With horror and aſtoniſhment they beheld a tyrant, who, with cloſe hypocriſy, had hitherto concealed his crimes, but was now ſo hardened, that, without ſhame or remorſe, he could throw open priſon-walls, and ſhew his grandſon under the centurion's laſh, expoſed to common ruffians, and, in the agony of famine, begging a wretched pittance to ſupport expiring nature, but begging it in vain.

XXV. THE grief occaſioned by the melancholy death of Druſus had not ſubſided, when the public *(a)* received another ſhock from the tragic end of Agrippina. The fall of Sejanus afforded a gleam of hope, which, it may be conjectured, helped to ſupport her ſpirits for ſome time: but when ſhe ſaw no alteration of meaſures, worn out and tired of life, ſhe reſolved to cloſe the ſcene. Her death was ſaid to be voluntary; but if it be true, that all nouriſhment was withheld from her, it is evident that an artful tale was fabricated, to give the appearance of ſuicide to a cruel and barbarous murder. Even after her deceaſe, Tiberius continued ſtill implacable. He loaded her memory with the foulеſt imputations he charged her with incontinence; he pronounced Aſi-

nius Gallus her adulterer; and when ſhe loſt her paramour, life, he ſaid, was no longer worth her care. But the character of Agrippina was invulnerable. It is true, that a mind like hers could not brook an equal. Ambition was her ruling paſſion; and in her views of grandeur the ſoft deſires of her ſex were loſt. Tiberius added, as a circumſtance worthy of being recorded, that ſhe died on the anniverſary of the day that freed the world from Sejanus two years before. That ſhe was not ſtrangled, and thrown into the common charnel-houſe, he thought fit to celebrate as an act of clemency. The ſenate thanked him for that tender indulgence, and ordained, by a decree, that the fifteenth before the calends of November (the day on which Sejanus and Agrippina both expired) ſhould be obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival, with annual offerings on the altar of Jupiter.

XXVI. Soon after theſe tranſactions, Cocceius Nerva (a), the conſtant companion of the prince, a man diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge of laws, both human and divine, poſſeſſing a ſplendid fortune, and ſtill in the vigour of health, grew weary of life, and formed a reſolution to lay the burthen down. Tiberius, on the firſt intelligence, paid him a viſit; he entered into cloſe converſation; he deſired to know his motives; he expoſtulated, tried the force of entreaty, and declared, without reſerve, that if a man, ſo high in favour, without any apparent reaſon, put an end to his life, it would be a ſtab to the emperor's peace of mind, and a ſtain indelible to his reputation. Nerva declined the ſubject. He perſiſted in wilful abſtinence, and ſhortly after cloſed his days. From thoſe who beſt knew his character and way of thinking, we learn the reaſons of his conduct. He ſaw the cloud that was ready to burſt on the commonwealth, and ſtruck, at once, with fear and indignation, he reſolved, while yet his honour was unblemiſhed, to eſcape with glory from the horrors of the time.

Extra-

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Extraordinary as it may ſeem, the death of Agrippina drew after it the ruin of Plancina. She was formerly the wife of Cneius Piſo. The reader will remember the ſavage joy, with which ſhe heard of the death of Germanicus. When her huſband periſhed, the influence of Livia, and, ſtill more, the enmity of Agrippina, ſkreened her from the puniſhment due to her crimes. But court-favour and private animoſity were at an end, and juſtice took its courſe. The charge againſt her was founded on facts of public notoriety. In deſpair ſhe laid violent hands on herſelf, and ſuffered, at laſt, the ſlow, but juſt reward of a flagitious life.

XXVII. Amidst the tragic events that covered the city of Rome with one general face of mourning, a new cauſe of diſcontent aroſe from the marriage of Julia (the daughter of Druſus *(a)*, and lately the wife of Nero) with Rubellius Blandus, whoſe grandfather, a native of Tibur, and never of higher diſtinction than the equeſtrian rank, was freſh in the memory of men ſtill living. Towards the end of the year, the funeral of Ælius Lamia was celebrated with all the honours of the cenſorian order. He had been for ſome time the nominal governor of Syria, and having reſigned that imaginary title, was made præfect of Rome. Illuſtrious by his birth, he lived to a vigorous old age; and, not being ſuffered to proceed to the province of Syria, he derived from that very reſtraint additional dignity *(b)*.

The death of Pomponius Flaccus *(c)*, proprætor of Syria, which happened ſoon after the deceaſe of Lamia, produced a letter from Tiberius to the ſenate, remonſtrating, that officers of rank, who by their talents were fit to be at the head of armies, declined the ſervice; and, by conſequence, the emperor was reduced to the neceſſity of requeſting, that the fathers would uſe their influence, to induce men of conſular rank to undertake the office. He for-

got,

got, however, that, ten years before, Arruntius was appointed to the government of Spain, but, during that whole time, never permitted to leave the city. A. U. C. 786. A. D. 33.

In the courſe of this year died Manius Lepidus *(d)*, whoſe wiſdom and moderation have been already mentioned. To ſay anything of the nobility of his birth were ſuperfluous, ſince it is well known, that the houſe of the Æmilii, from whom he derived his pedigree, produced a race of eminent citizens. If any of the family degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors, they continued, notwithſtanding, to ſupport the ſplendour of an ancient and illuſtrious race.

XXVIII. PAULUS FABIUS and Lucius Vitellius *(a)* ſucceeded to the conſulſhip. In the courſe of the year, the miraculous bird, known to the world by the name of the phœnix *(b)*, after diſappearing for a ſeries of ages, reviſited Ægypt. A phænomenon ſo very extraordinary could not fail to produce abundance of curious ſpeculation. The learning of Ægypt was diſplayed, and Greece exhauſted her ingenuity. The facts, about which there ſeems to be a concurrence of opinions, with other circumſtances, in their nature doubtful, yet worthy of notice, will not be unwelcome to the reader. A. U. C. 787. A. D. 34.

That the phœnix is ſacred to the ſun, and differs from the reſt of the feathered ſpecies, in the form of its head, and the tincture of its plumage, are points ſettled by the naturaliſts. Of its longevity, the accounts are various. The common perſuaſion is, that it lives five hundred years, though by ſome writers the date is extended to fourteen hundred and ſixty-one. The ſeveral æras, when the phœnix has been ſeen, are fixed by tradition. The firſt, we are told, was in the reign of Seſoſtris *(c)*; the ſecond, in that of Amaſis;

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Amaſis; and in the period when Ptolemy, the third of the Macedonian race, was ſeated on the throne of Ægypt, another phœnix directed its flight towards Heliopolis, attended by a groupe of various birds, all attracted by the novelty, and gazing with wonder at ſo beautiful an appearance. For the truth of this account, we do not preſume to anſwer. The facts lie too remote, and, covered, as they are, with the miſts of antiquity, all further argument is ſuſpended.

From the reign of Ptolemy to Tiberius, the intermediate ſpace is not quite two hundred and fifty years. From that circumſtance it has been inferred by many that the laſt phœnix was neither of the genuine kind, nor came from the woods of Arabia. The inſtinctive qualities of the ſpecies were not obſerved to direct its motions. It is the genius, we are told, of the true phœnix, when its courſe of years is finiſhed, and the approach of death is felt, to build a neſt in its native clime, and there depoſit the principles of life, from which a new progeny ariſes. The firſt care of the young bird, as ſoon as fledged, and able to truſt to its wings, is to perform the obſequies of his father. But this duty is not undertaken raſhly. He collects a quantity of myrrh, and, to try his ſtrength, makes frequent excurſions with a load on his back. When he has made his experiment through a long tract of air, and gains ſufficient confidence in his own vigour, he takes up the body of his father, and flies with it to the altar of the ſun, where he leaves it to be conſumed in flames of fragrance. Such is the account of this extraordinary bird. It has, no doubt, a mixture of fable; but that the phœnix, from time to time, appears in Ægypt, ſeems to be a fact ſufficiently aſcertained.

XXIX. ROME continued to ſtream with the blood of eminent citizens. Pomponius Labeo, who had been, as already mentioned, governor

governor of Myſia, opened his veins, and bled to death. His wife Paxæa had the ſpirit to follow his example. Suicide was the only refuge from the hand of the executioner. Thoſe who waited for the ſentence of the law, incurred a forfeiture, and were, beſides, deprived of the rites of ſepulture; while to ſuch as died by their own hand funeral ceremonies were allowed, and their wills were valid. Such was the reward of diſpatch! *(a)* Self-deſtruction was made the intereſt of mankind. On the ſubject of Labeo's death, Tiberius wrote to the ſenate. He obſerved, "that in ancient times, when "all ties of friendſhip were to be diſſolved, it was the cuſtom to "give notice to the diſcarded party, that his viſits were no longer "agreeable. In that manner he had acted with Labeo: all con-"nection was at an end. But that unhappy man, finding him-"ſelf charged with the iniquity of his government, and preſſed "by the weight of other crimes, made a ſhew of injured inno-"cence, with intent to throw the odium of his death on the "emperor. The example was fatal to his wife. She took the "alarm, and periſhed with her huſband. She might have quelled "her fears; for, though her guilt was manifeſt, ſhe might have "lived in ſafety."

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A new proſecution was commenced againſt Mamercus Scaurus *(b)*, a diſtinguiſhed ſenator, famous as well for his eloquence as the nobility of his birth, but a libertine in his conduct. He had been connected with Sejanus, but on that account no danger threatened him. The enmity of Macro, who practiſed the wiles of Sejanus, but with deeper policy, was the cauſe of his ruin. A tragedy, written by Scaurus, was the ground of the charge. Some lines were cited from the piece, and, by a ſtrained conſtruction, ſaid to point obliquely at Tiberius. But to make ſure work, Servilius and Cornelius, two informers by profeſſion, accuſed him of adultery with the younger Livia *(c)*, and of ſecret practices

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in the magic art. Scaurus, with a ſpirit worthy of the ancient Æmilii, from whom he was deſcended, reſolved not to linger for a public ſentence. His wife Sexitia exhorted him to an act of bravery, and died herſelf, with the courage which ſhe recommended.

XXX. AMIDST theſe acts of violence, the informers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate. Servilius and Cornelius, who, by their conduct to Scaurus, had brought on themſelves the public deteſtation, were charged with taking a bribe, to compound a proſecution commenced by themſelves againſt Varius Ligur. They were both interdicted from fire and water, and tranſported to the iſlands. A ſimilar fate attended Abudius Rufo. This man had diſcharged the office of ædile, and alſo ſerved, at the head of a legion, under Lentulus Gætulicus. He turned informer againſt his commanding officer, alleging that he had projected a match between his daughter and one of the ſons of Sejanus. He conſtrued this into a crime, and, for the attempt, was baniſhed from Rome. At the time when this proſecution was ſet on foot, Gætulicus commanded the legions in Upper Germany. Diſtinguiſhed by his clemency, and without rigour maintaining military diſcipline, he was the idol of the ſoldiers. By his intereſt with his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, he was alſo high in credit with the other army, which was ſtationed at a ſmall diſtance. In this ſituation, it is ſaid, not without probability, that he had the courage to diſpatch a letter to Tiberius, to the following effect: "The propoſed alliance with Sejanus did not originate with him-"ſelf: the emperor had recommended it. The meaneſt citizen "is liable to error, no leſs than the prince. To miſtake with "impunity cannot be the prerogative of the emperor, and, at the "ſame time, a crime in others. For himſelf, his fidelity remained "inviolate, and, if no ſnare was laid for his ruin, nothing could "ſhake his principles. Should a ſucceſſor be ſent to ſuperſede

"him

"him in the command, he ſhould underſtand it as the prologue "to a ſentence of condemnation. But there were conditions, on "which ſomething like a treaty between both parties might be "ſettled: he deſired to remain unmoleſted in the government of "the province, and Tiberius might give the law to the reſt of the "Roman world." Incredible as this anecdote may appear, it gains an air of authenticity, when it is conſidered, that, of all the favourites of Sejanus, Gætulicus was the only perſon who had the ſecret to preſerve his life, and live in the good graces of the prince. The truth is, Tiberius knew that he had incurred the public hatred. Worn out with age and infirmities, he was wiſe enough to reflect, that fame and the opinion of mankind, rather than the exerciſe of power, muſt for the future be the pillars of his government.

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XXXI. In the conſulſhip of Caius Ceſtius *(a)* and Marcus Servilius, a deputation from the Parthian nobility, without the concurrence or privity of Artabanus, their king, arrived at Rome. While the arms of Germanicus filled the eaſt with terror, that monarch continued to adhere with good faith to the Romans, and to rule his own dominions with equity and moderation. He broke out afterwards with open violence; to Rome, proud and arrogant; to his people, fierce and unrelenting. The proſperous events of war with the neighbouring nations inſpired him with the pride and inſolence of victory. He ſaw Tiberius, in the decline of life, a feeble prince *(b)*, diſarmed, and powerleſs. Armenia was the object of his ambition. Artaxias *(c)*, king of the country, was no ſooner dead, than he placed his eldeſt ſon, Arſaces, on the vacant throne. His arrogance did not ſtop there. By his ambaſſadors he demanded, in haughty and imperious terms, immediate reſtitution of the treaſures left by Vonones *(d)* in Syria and Cilicia. He laid claim, beſides, to all the territories, formerly

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belonging to the Perſians and Macedonians. He added, in a ſtyle of vain glory, that whatever was poſſeſſed by Cyrus, and afterwards by Alexander, was his undoubted right, and he was determined to recover the ſame by force of arms.

The Parthians, in the mean time, by the advice of Sinnaces, a man of great opulence and noble birth, ſent their ſecret embaſſy to Rome. The meaſure was ſupported by Abdus *(e)*, the eunuch. In the eaſtern nations the loſs of manhood is no degradation: on the contrary, it leads to power and preferment. With thoſe two leading chiefs the grandees of Parthia entered into a conſpiracy. But ſtill to wear the regal diadem, one only of the race of the Arſacides could be found. The greateſt part of that family was cut off by Artabanus, and the ſurvivors were too young to govern. The Parthians, therefore, deſired that Tiberius would ſend Phraates *(f)*, ſon of the king of that name, to mount the throne of his anceſtors. That title, and the ſanction of Rome, would be ſufficient. Let a prince of the houſe of Arſaces, under the protection of Tiberius, ſhew himſelf on the banks of the Euphrates, and nothing more was neceſſary: a revolution would be the certain conſequence.

XXXII. The enterpriſe was agreeable to the wiſhes of Tiberius. He diſpatched Phraates, enriched with preſents, and every mark of ſplendour ſuited to the royal dignity. But ſtill it was his fixed plan not to depart from his former reſolution to work by ſtratagem, and, if poſſible, to avoid a war. The ſecret tranſpired at the Parthian court. Artabanus was thrown into a ſtate of violent perplexity. Revenge and fear took poſſeſſion of him by turns. In the idea of an eaſtern monarch, indeciſion is the mark of a ſervile mind. Vigour and ſudden enterpriſe are attributes of the royal character. In the preſent juncture, thoſe notions gave way,

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way, and his intereſt conquered prejudices. He invited Abdus to a banquet, and, by a ſlow poiſon, rendered him unfit for action. With Sinnaces he thought it beſt to diſſemble. He loaded him with preſents, and, by employing him in ſtate affairs, left him no leiſure for clandeſtine machinations. Meanwhile Phraates arrived in Syria. Willing to conform to the cuſtoms of the eaſt, he threw off the dreſs and manners of the Romans. The tranſition, however, was too violent; and his conſtitution proving unequal to ſo ſudden a change, he was carried off by a fit of illneſs. Tiberius was unwilling to relinquiſh a meaſure which he had once approved. He named Tiridates, deſcended from the ſame ſtock with Phraates, as a fit rival to contend with Artabanus.

In order to recover the kingdom of Armenia, he entered into an alliance with Mithridates, a prince of the Iberian line, having beforehand contrived to reconcile him to his brother Pharaſmanes, then the reigning monarch of Iberia. An important ſcene was now opening in the eaſt. To conduct the whole, Tiberius gave the command to Lucius Vitellius *(a)*. The character of this officer is well known. He ſhewed himſelf in his true colours to the people of Rome, inſomuch that his memory is to this hour held in deteſtation. In the eaſt, however, his conduct was irreproachable. He acted in the province with the integrity of an ancient Roman. After his return he renounced that character altogether, a ready apoſtate from every virtue. His dread of Caligula, and his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into an abject ſlave. He is now remembered as a model of the vileſt adulation. What was praiſe-worthy in the beginning of his days, changed to infamy in his riper years. The virtues of youth gave way to the vices of age.

XXXIII. Mi-

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XXXIII. MITHRIDATES was the firſt of the petty kings of Aſia, who took a deciſive part. He drew his brother Pharaſmanes into the league, and engaged that monarch to employ both force and ſtratagem to promote the enterpriſe. By their agents they bribed the ſervants of Arſaces to end their maſter's life by poiſon. The Iberians, in the mean time, entered Armenia with a numerous army, and took poſſeſſion of the city of Artaxata. On the firſt intelligence Artabanus diſpatched his ſon Orodes, at the head of the Parthian forces, to oppoſe the enemy, and, in the mean time, ſent out his officers to negociate for a body of auxiliaries. Pharaſmanes, on his part, ſpared no pains to reinforce his army. He engaged the Albanians in his ſervice. He liſted the Sarmatians; but a part of that people, called the Sceptucians, were willing, according to the cuſtom of the nation, to be hired by any of the powers at war, the ready mercenaries in every quarrel. They were at that time actually engaged on both ſides, and of courſe divided againſt themſelves. The Iberians, having ſecured the defiles and narrow paſſes of the country, poured down from the Caſpian mountains a large body of their Sarmatian auxiliaries, and ſoon over-ran all Armenia. The Parthians were not able to advance. The enemy was in force at every poſt, one only road excepted, and that, extending between the Caſpian ſea and the mountains of Albania, was impaſſable in the ſummer months. In that ſeaſon of the year, the Eteſian *(a)* winds blow conſtantly one way, and, driving the waves before them, lay the country under water. In the winter, the wind from the ſouth rolls the flood back into the deep, and leaves the country a dry and naked ſhore.

XXXIV. WHILE Orodes ſaw his ſuccours cut off, Pharaſmanes with augmented numbers advanced againſt him. He

offered battle; but the enemy declined the conflict. The Iberian rode up to the entrenchments; he endeavoured to provoke the enemy; he cut off their forage, and inveſted their camp. The Parthians, not uſed to brook diſhonour, gathered in a body round the prince, and demanded the deciſion of the ſword. Their main ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry. Pharaſmanes added to his horſe a large body of infantry. His own ſubjects, and the forces from Albania, dwelling chiefly in wilds and foreſts, were inured, by their mode of life, to labour and fatigue. If we may believe the account which they give of their origin, they are deſcended from the people of Theſſaly, who followed Jaſon when that adventurer, having iſſue by Medea, returned to Colchis, on the death of Æetes, to take poſſeſſion of the vacant throne. Concerning the Greek hero, and the oracle of Phryxus *(a)*, various traditions are current amongſt them. For the laſt their veneration is ſuch, that in their ſacrifices a ram is never offered as a victim, the people conceiving that Phryxus was conveyed acroſs the ſea by an animal of that ſpecies, or in a ſhip with that figure at the head. The two armies were drawn out in order of battle. Orodes, to animate the valour of his men, called to mind the glory of the eaſtern empire, and the race of the Arſacides. "They were now to cope with a "band of mercenaries, led by an Iberian chief, of mean ex-"traction, ignoble, and obſcure." In the oppoſite army, Pharaſmanes preſſed every topic that could inflame the ardour of his troops. "They were the men who never yielded to the "Parthian yoke: they fought now for conqueſt: the more bold "the enterpriſe, the greater would be their glory. If they gave "ground, or turned their backs on the enemy, ſhame and ruin "would purſue them. Look round," he ſaid, "and view both "armies. Behold on our ſide a dreadful front of war; on that "of the enemy an unwarlike band of Medes, gay in their "apparel,

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"apparel, and glittering with gold. Here we have men and "ſteel; there cowards, and booty to reward our valour."

XXXV. In the Sarmatian ranks it was not the general only that harangued the men. By mutual exhortations, according to their cuſtom, they rouſed each other's valour. They reſolved to reſerve their darts, and ruſh on to a cloſe engagement. The field of battle preſented an attack in different forms. The Parthians, ſkilled alike in the onſet and the retreat, endeavoured to open their ranks, in order to gain room for the diſcharge of their arrows. The Sarmatians threw their bows aſide, determined with their ſwords and pikes to decide the fortune of the day. In one place was ſeen an engagement of the cavalry; they advanced to the charge; they wheeled about; they changed with ſudden velocity. In another quarter the infantry fought hand to hand, and buckler to buckler. They attacked, and were repulſed; they wounded, and were wounded. The Iberians and Albanians grappled with the enemy; they pulled them by main force from their horſes; they diſtracted them by two different modes of engaging. Their cavalry ruſhed on, and their infantry ſtood cloſe embodied. The two adverſe generals, Orodes and Pharaſmanes, exerted every effort. They ruſhed into the heat of the action; they encouraged the brave; they rallied the broken ranks, and ſignaliſed themſelves in every part of the field. Conſpicuous to all, at length they knew each other. At the ſight, with inſtinctive fury, their horſes at full ſpeed, they ruſhed forward to the charge, bellowing revenge, and darting their javelins. Pharaſmanes, with a well-directed weapon, pierced the helmet of Orodes; but, hurried on by the fury of his horſe, he was not able to purſue his advantage. Orodes was ſheltered by his guards, who flew to his aſſiſtance. A report that he was ſlain ſpread through the ranks. Th

ſpirit

ſpirit of the Parthians began to droop, and victory declared for the Iberians.

XXXVI. ARTABANUS, to repair the loſs, marched with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. The Iberians knew the courſe of the country, and by their valour gained a ſecond victory. The Parthian, notwithſtanding, kept the field till ſuch time as Vitellius advanced with his legions, intending, as was induſtriouſly given out, to enter Meſopotamia. To avoid a war with Rome, the Parthian king abandoned Armenia, and returned to his own dominions. From that time his ruin may be dated. Vitellius carried on a correſpondence with the leading men of Parthia, and, to incite them to a revolt, repreſented Artabanus as a king, cruel in time of peace, and in war diſaſtrous to the whole nation. Sinnaces, at the head, as already mentioned, of a powerful faction, drew to his intereſt his father, Abdageſes, and other malecontents, who were now, by the unproſperous events of war, determined to throw off the maſk. A great number, through fear, and not from principle, hitherto inactive, went over to the diſaffected. Artabanus found himſelf deſerted on every ſide. He had only one expedient left. He choſe for his body-guard a band of mercenaries, men void of honour, the outcaſts of their country, to good and evil, vice and virtue, alike indifferent, and for their hire ready to perpetrate every crime. With theſe attendants the fugitive monarch ſought the frontiers of Scythia. His ruined cauſe, he ſtill hoped, would find ſupport from the Carmanians, and the people of Hyrcania, with whom he was connected by ties of affinity. He relied, moreover, on the fickle temper of the Parthians. A wavering and inconſtant people, always diſguſted with the reigning prince, and, after his expulſion, prone to repent, might act towards himſelf with the ſame verſatility, and once more declare in his favour.

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XXXVII. The throne being in this manner vacant, and the Parthians, in their rage for innovation, appearing ready to embrace a new maſter, Vitellius thought it time to fire the ambition of Tiridates, and, to ſupport him in the enterpriſe, marched with the auxiliaries, and the ſtrength of his legions, to the banks of the Euphrates. In order to propitiate the river god *(a)*, preparations were made for a ſolemn ſacrifice. The Roman, according to the rites of his country, offered a ſwine, a ram, and a bull: a horſe was the victim ſlain by Tiridates. While they were thus employed, the people of the country came in with an account that the Euphrates, without any fall of rain, ſwelled miraculouſly above its banks, and, the waves with a rapid motion turning round in circling eddies, the foam on the ſurface preſented the form of a diadem. This was deemed a favourable omen. By others, who judged with more penetration, the prognoſtic was ſeen in a different light. According to their interpretation, it promiſed ſucceſs at firſt, and a ſpeedy reverſe of fortune. In ſupport of this opinion it was obſerved, that the earth and heavens hold forth unerring ſignals: but the omens, collected from the appearance of rivers, were, like the element from which they ſpring, always uncertain. They appear and vaniſh in a moment.

A bridge of boats being prepared, the whole army paſſed over the Euphrates. While they lay encamped, Ornoſpades, at the head of a large body of cavalry, amounting to ſeveral thouſands, came in as an auxiliary. This man was a native of Parthia, formerly baniſhed from his country; but for his ſervices under Tiberius, during the war in Dalmatia *(b)*, admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen. Being afterwards reconciled to his native prince, he roſe to the firſt honours of the ſtate, and was appointed governor of that whole region which lies

lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, for that reaſon called MESOPOTAMIA *(c)*. Sinnaces, in a ſhort time after, joined the army with a ſtrong reinforcement. Abdageſes, the pillar of the party, delivered up the royal treaſure, and the richeſt ornaments of the crown. Vitellius conſidered the buſineſs as finiſhed. The Roman eagles appeared on the banks of the Euphrates, and more was unneceſſary. He gave his beſt advice to Tiridates, and the authors of the revolution. Addreſſing himſelf to the prince, "Remember," he ſaid, "that you are the grandſon of "Phraates, and that you have been trained up by Tiberius: "let that reflection be ever preſent to your mind: it will ani- "mate you in the career of glory." He exhorted the grandees of Parthia to pay obedience to their king, and due reſpect to the Roman name. By being faithful to both, they would at once fulfil their engagements, and maintain their honour. Having made this arrangement, he returned with his legions into Syria.

XXXVIII. IN relating theſe tranſactions, I have thrown together, in one connected ſeries, the buſineſs of two campaigns; in order, by a view of Aſiatic affairs, to relieve the attention of the reader, and give the mind ſome reſpite from domeſtic miſery. From the death of Sejanus three years had elapſed, and yet neither time nor ſupplications, nor even a deluge of blood, could ſoften the cruelty of Tiberius. Things that mitigate the reſentment of others, made no impreſſion on that unforgiving temper. Crimes of an ancient date were revived as recent facts, and charges without proof paſſed for demonſtrations of guilt. The band of informers joined in a league againſt Fulcinius Trio *(a)*. That citizen, knowing that his fate was determined, put an end to his life. In his will he ſpoke in the bittereſt terms of Macro, and the emperor's freedmen.

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Nor did he ſpare Tiberius. His underſtanding, he ſaid, was reduced by years and infirmity to a ſtate of dotage, and his long abſence was no better than baniſhment from his country. Theſe reflections the heirs of Trio wiſhed to ſuppreſs; but Tiberius ordered the will to be read in public; perhaps to ſhew the world that he could allow full liberty of thinking, and deſpiſe the cenſure that pointed at himſelf; perhaps, having been for many years blind to the villany of Sejanus, he choſe, at laſt, that invectives of every ſort ſhould be brought to light, to the end that truth, always warped by flattery, might reach his ear, though undiſguiſed, and at the expence of his reputation. About the ſame time died by his own hand Granius Martianus, a member of the ſenate, who found himſelf attacked by Caius Gracchus on the law of violated majeſty. Tatius Granius, who had ſerved the office of prætor, was proſecuted in like manner, and condemned to ſuffer death.

XXXIX. THE ſame fate attended Trebellienus Rufus *(a)* and Sextius Paconianus: the former diſpatched himſelf, and the latter, for ſome ſarcaſtic verſes againſt the emperor, the production of his priſon-hours, was ſtrangled in the jail. Of all theſe tragic ſcenes Tiberius had the earlieſt intelligence; not, as before, by meſſengers that croſſed the ſea to the iſle of Capreæ; he heard the news in the very neighbourhood of Rome, hovering about the city at ſo ſmall a diſtance, that often on the ſame day, or, at moſt, a ſingle night intervening, the conſuls received his anſwers to their diſpatches, and his final orders for immediate vengeance. He placed himſelf in a ſituation ſo near the theatre of horror, that he could almoſt ſee the blood that ſtreamed in every family, and hear the ſtroke of the executioner.

Towards the end of the year died Poppæus Sabinus *(b)*, a man

man of humble birth, but, by the partiality of two emperors, raiſed to the conſulſhip, and diſtinguiſhed by triumphal honours. During a ſeries of four-and-twenty years, the government of conſiderable provinces was committed to his care, not for any extraordinary talents, but becauſe he had a capacity of a level for buſineſs, and not above it. A. U. C. 788. A. D. 35.

XL. THE next conſulſhip was that of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. In the courſe of this year Lucius Aruſeius and others died under the hand of the executioner: their fate, however cruel, paſſed unheeded among the common occurrences of the time. Scenes of blood were grown familiar, and made no impreſſion. And yet the fate of Vibulenus Agrippa was attended with circumſtances that ſtruck a general panic. His trial came on before the ſenate. As ſoon as the proſecutors cloſed their caſe, he ſwallowed a deadly poiſon, which he had concealed under his robe, and inſtantly expired. He was ſeized, notwithſtanding, and in that condition dragged to a dungeon, where the lictor faſtened his cord *(a)* round the neck of a dead man. Even Tigranes *(b)*, who had formerly ſwayed the ſceptre of Armenia, ſuffered without diſtinction. The title of royalty did not exempt him from the lot of a common citizen. A. U. C. 789. A. D. 36.

Caius Galba *(c)*, of conſular rank, and the two Blæſi, embraced a voluntary death; Galba, becauſe by letters from Tiberius, written in terms of acrimony, he was excluded from the uſual mode of obtaining a province by lot; and the Blæſi, becauſe the order of prieſthood, which had been promiſed in their day of proſperity, was, ſince they were no longer in favour, withheld from them, and to thoſe vacant dignities others were appointed. A ſtep ſo deciſive they conſidered as nothing leſs than a ſignal to die; and they obeyed.

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Æmilia Lepida *(d)*, whoſe marriage with Druſus has been mentioned, remained, during the life of Lepidus her father, in perfect ſecurity, but deteſted by the public. Her protector being now no more, the informers ſeized their opportunity, and accuſed her of adultery with a ſlave. Of her guilt no doubt was entertained. She made no defence. but executed iuſtice on herſelf.

XLI. ABOUT this time the Cliteans, a people ſubject to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, impatient of being taxed according to the ſyſtem practiſed in the Roman provinces, made a ſeceſſion to the heights of mount Taurus. Being there poſſeſſed of the advantage-ground, they were able to defend themſelves againſt their ſovereign, and his unwarlike troops. To quell the inſurgents, Vitellius, governor of Syria, diſpatched Marcus Trebellius, at the head of four thouſand legionary ſoldiers, and a ſelect detachment of auxiliaries. The Barbarians had taken poſt on two hills; the leaſt was called CADRA, and the other DAVARA. Trebellius incloſed both with lines of circumvallation. All who dared to ſally out were put to the ſword; the reſt were reduced by thirſt and famine.

Meanwhile, Tiridates was well nigh eſtabliſhed on the throne of Parthia. The cities of Nicephorium, Anthemuſia, and other places, originally ſettled by the Macedonians, and from their founders deriving names of Greek termination, opened their gates to the new monarch. Halus and Artemita, two Parthian cities, followed the example; the people every where vying with each other in demonſtrations of joy. A revolution by which Artabanus, a tyrant bred among the Scythians, was driven from the throne, gave univerſal ſatisfaction to the Parthians. They knew that Tiridates had been educated among the Romans,

and,

and, from his arts of civilization, expected a mild and equitable government.

XLII. THE inhabitants of Seleucia *(a)* declared for the new king in a ſtyle of flattery that exceeded all their neighbours. Seleucia is a fortified city of conſiderable ſtrength. The barbarity of Parthian manners never gained admiſſion amongſt them. Being a colony planted by Seleucus, they ſtill retained the inſtitutions of their Grecian founder. A body of three hundred, choſen for their wealth or ſuperior wiſdom, gave the form of a ſenate. The people have their ſhare in the government. When both orders act with a ſpirit of union, they are too ſtrong for the Parthians. If they claſh among themſelves, and one faction looks abroad for ſupport, the foreign prince, who arrives as the friend of a party, becomes the oppreſſor of all. In the reign of Artabanus this fatal conſequence was actually felt. That monarch threw the whole weight into the ſcale of the nobles, and the people, by conſequence, were ſurrendered as the ſlaves of a violent ariſtocracy. This form of government was agreeable to the ideas of eaſtern deſpotiſm. A regular democracy holds too much of civil liberty, while the domination of the few differs but little from abſolute monarchy.

The reception of Tiridates at Seleucia was ſplendid beyond all example. To the homage which the practice of ages had eſtabliſhed, new honours were added by the inventive genius of flattery. Amidſt the applauſe and acclamations of the people, reproaches loud and vehement were thrown out againſt Artabanus, a man related, by the maternal line only, to the houſe of the Arſacidæ, and, by his actions, a diſgrace to the name. Tiridates ſided with the people of Seleucia, and reſtored the democracy. A day for his coronation was ſtill to be fixed. While

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that buſineſs was in agitation, diſpatches arrived from Hiero and Phraates, two leading men, and governors of extenſive provinces. They deſired that the ceremony might be deferred for a few days. A requeſt from men of their importance came with weight, and was accordingly followed. The court, in the mean time, removed to Cteſiphon, the capital of the empire, and the ſeat of government. New delays were thrown in the way by the two grandees, and the buſineſs of the coronation was protracted from time to time. At length the regent of the country, called the SURENA *(b)*, proceeded, according to the national cuſtom, to ſolemnize the inauguration of the king. In the preſence of a numerous aſſembly, and amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, he inveſted Tiridates with the regal diadem.

XLIII. IF, after this ceremony, Tiridates had penetrated at once into the heart of the kingdom, and ſhewn himſelf to the interior provinces, by that deciſive ſtep the minds of ſuch as wavered had been fixed, and the prince had mounted the throne with the conſent of the nation. He ſtaid imprudently to amuſe himſelf with the ſiege of a caſtle, in which were lodged the concubines of Artabanus, with all the royal treaſure. The delay gave time for treachery and revolt. Phraates, Hiero, and others of the nobility, who were not preſent at the coronation, turned their thoughts, with their uſual love of innovation, towards the depoſed king. For this conduct their motives were various. Some acted from their fears, and others from their ill will to Abdageſes, who had gained the ſupreme authority at court, and the entire aſcendant over the new monarch. The malecontents went in queſt of Artabanus. He was found in Hyrcania, covered with wretchedneſs, and with his bow and arrow procuring his daily ſuſtenance. On the firſt appearance of his friends, he

was ſeized with terror, ſuſpecting nothing leſs than treachery, and a deſign againſt his life. Being aſſured of their fidelity, and their reſolution to reſtore him to his dominions, he felt his hopes revived; and whence, he ſaid, this ſudden change? Hiero gave the anſwer: "Tiridates is no better than a boy; nor is "the royal dignity veſted in a prince deſcended from the line "of the Arſacidæ. Enervated by the luxuries of Rome, the "ſtripling contents himſelf with the ſhadow of authority, while "the whole power of the ſtate is in the hands of Abdageſes."

XLIV. THE politic king, formed during a long reign in the ſchool of experience, knew that men, whoſe friendſhip is fallacious, may notwithſtanding be believed, when they avow their hatred. Without loſs of time he raiſed a ſupply of men among the Scythians, and marched forward with intent to give no time either to the arts of his enemies, or the natural levity of his friends. The ſordid habit in which he was found, he ſtill continued to wear; hoping, by his wretched appearance, to make an impreſſion on the paſſions of the multitude. He omitted nothing that could ſerve his cauſe; by fraud, by entreaty, by every artifice, he tried to allure the wavering, and to animate the brave. By rapid marches he ſoon reached the neighbourhood of Seleucia, at the head of a powerful army.

Tiridates, alarmed at the news of his approach, and, ſoon after terrified at his actual preſence, began to deliberate about the meaſures in that exigence fitteſt to be purſued. Should he try the iſſue of a battle, or draw the war into length? In his councils there was nothing like deciſion. The officers of warlike ſpirit were for a ſudden blow, while the raſh levies of Artabanus, out of heart, fatigued by their march, and not yet united by principle, had as yet no affection for a king whom they had ſo

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lately depoſed. Traitors yeſterday, they were now no better than pretended friends. Abdageſes was of a contrary opinion. To retreat into Meſopotamia was, in his judgment, the ſafeſt meaſure. Having gained the oppoſite ſide of the river, Tiridates might there ſtand at bay, till the Armenians, the Elymæans, and other nations in their rear, had time to take the field. Succours might be expected from the Roman general. When their forces were all aſſembled, it would then be time to hazard a battle. This meaſure was adopted. Abdageſes was high in authority, and the unwarlike genius of Tiridates ſhrunk from danger. Their retreat had the appearance of an army put to the rout. The conſequences were fatal. The Arabs were the firſt to abandon Tiridates: a general defection followed. Some betook themſelves to their native home, and others went over to the ſtandard of Artabanus. Tiridates, with an handful of men, paſſed into Syria, and by his conduct made the apology of all who deſerted his cauſe. None had reaſon to bluſh for betraying a man, who betrayed himſelf.

XLV. In the courſe of this year a dreadful fire broke out at Rome, and laid mount Aventine, with part of the adjoining circus, in aſhes. Tiberius had the addreſs to turn this calamity to his own glory. He ordered the value of the houſes and inſulated manſions *(a)*, which were deſtroyed, to be paid to the reſpective owners. The ſum amounted to no leſs than one hundred thouſand great ſeſterces. The munificence of the prince was the more applauded, as building, for his own uſe, was not his taſte. The temple of Auguſtus, and Pompey's Theatre, were his only public ſtructures. When both were finiſhed, he did not ſo much as think of dedicating them; perhaps, to ſhew his contempt of fame; perhaps, becauſe old age had ſunk his vigour. To eſtimate the damage ſuſtained by each individual, his

his four ſons-in-law were appointed, namely, Cneius Domitius, Caſſius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus. At the deſire of the conſuls Publius Petronius was added to the commiſſion. Public honours were decreed to the emperor with all the variety that adulation could ſuggeſt. Which were acceptable, and which rejected, is uncertain; ſince he was then near his end, and perhaps never declared his mind. A. U. C. 789. A. D. 36.

In a ſhort time after, Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius entered on the conſulſhip, and it was their lot to cloſe the reign of Tiberius. Macro was, at this time, in the zenith of his power. He had been aſſiduous in paying his court to Caligula; and now, when he ſaw the emperor declining faſt, his zeal for the young prince became every day more conſpicuous. In a ſhort time after the death of Claudia *(b)*, who had been married to Caligula, he made his own wife, Ennia, throw out the lure for his affections, till ſhe obtained a promiſe of marriage. In this ſhe found no difficulty. Caligula wiſhed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity to ſeize the ſovereign power; and, to ſecond his ambition, there was no project which he was not ready to embrace. The ferocity of his nature left him little time for reflection, and the violence of his paſſions clouded his underſtanding: he had ſtudied under his grandfather, and in that ſchool acquired the arts of diſſimulation. A. U. C. 790. A. D. 37.

XLVI. The character of Caligula did not eſcape the penetrating eye of Tiberius. Hence his irreſolution on the important point of naming a ſucceſſor *(a)*. His grandſons naturally were preſent to his mind. The heir of his ſon Druſus was the neareſt in blood, and natural affection ſpoke in his favour: but the prince was ſtill of tender years. Caligula had attained the prime of manhood; but he was the ſon of Germanicus, and,

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for that reaſon, a favourite of the people; both ſtrong motives to excite the averſion of Tiberius. Claudius was not entirely overlooked. His time of life rendered him fit for that exalted ſtation, and he had ſhewn a taſte for the liberal arts; but he wanted vigour of mind: nature had given him talents, but withheld the power of uſing them with any ſolid advantage. In this perplexity Tiberius weighed every circumſtance, but ſtill could form no reſolution. To name a perſon who was not of the imperial family, were to degrade the memory of Auguſtus, and leave the houſe of Cæſar expoſed to the contempt of poſterity. This, in all events, he was determined to avoid, not with a view to preſent fame, for that had long ſince ceaſed to be his paſſion; and yet he wiſhed to preſerve the glory of an illuſtrious line, and tranſmit it unimpaired to future ages.

At length, fatigued with thinking, and growing every day weaker, he left to chance what he had not vigour to decide. He had, notwithſtanding, ſome foreknowledge of what was to happen after him. From certain expreſſions that fell from him this may be collected. His reproach to Macro, "that he turned "from the ſetting to the riſing ſun," was neither dark nor equivocal. He ſaid to Caligula, who, on ſome occaſion, treated the character of Sylla with contempt and ridicule, "You will have "the vices of that great man, without one of his virtues." In a ſhort time after, while with tears of affection he claſped in his arms the youngeſt *(b)* of his grandſons, he obſerved the ſtern countenance of Caligula, and calmly told him, "You will kill "this boy, and fall yourſelf by ſome other hand." Tiberius was now declining faſt, and yet, in that decay of nature, he abated nothing from his uſual gratifications. Diſſembling to the laſt, he endured every encroachment on his conſtitution with calm compoſure. Patience, he thought, would paſs for vigour.

To

To ridicule the practice of phyſic *(c)*, and make a jeſt of all who, after thirty, did not underſtand their own conſtitutions, had been long the bent of his humour.

XLVII. At Rome, in the mean time, proſecutions were ſet on foot, to terminate in blood after the death of Tiberius. Acutia, formerly the wife of Publius Vitellius *(a)*, was charged on the law of violated majeſty by Lælius Balbus. She was condemned; but the decree, by which the ſenate adjudged a recompenſe to the proſecutor, was ſuſpended by the interpoſition of Junius Otho, the tribune of the people. From that moment Vitellius and Otho became open enemies. Fierce contentions followed, and, at laſt, ended in the baniſhment of Otho. Albucilla, a woman famous for the variety of her intrigues, and her marriage with Satrius Secundus *(b)* (the man who informed againſt Sejanus), was charged with a conſpiracy againſt the prince. Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marſus, and Lucius Arruntius, were all three involved in the ſame proſecution, being, as was alleged, connected in a courſe of adultery with Albucilla, and, by conſequence, accomplices in all her crimes. The illuſtrious birth of Domitius has been already mentioned. Marſus derived great ſplendour from his anceſtors, and was, beſides, in an eminent degree adorned with literature. In the ſtate of the proceedings laid before the ſenate, it appeared that Macro preſided at the examination of the witneſſes, and ſaw the ſlaves put to the queſtion; but no letter on the ſubject arrived from Tiberius. Hence a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that Macro, taking advantage of the feeble ſtate of his maſter, ſeized the opportunity to wreak his malice on Arruntius, whom he was known to proſecute with inveterate hatred.

XLVIII. Domitius, relying on his defence, employed himſelf in the neceſſary preparation. Marſus gave out that he was reſolved

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reſolved to end his days by famine. The artifice ſaved both their lives. The friends of Arruntius tried all their influence and their beſt advice. They entreated him to protract the time by ſtudied delays. Arruntius anſwered with firmneſs: "The ſame part "cannot, with propriety, be acted by all characters. What is "honourable in one, may be unworthy in another. As to my- "ſelf, I have lived long enough, nay too long, and to my own "diſgrace. For that, and that only, I now reproach myſelf. I "have lingered in life, amidſt ſurrounding dangers; I have drag- "ged a weary old age, expoſed to the proud man's inſult, and "the malice of pernicious miniſters; hated at firſt by Sejanus, "and now by Macro; in every ſtage of life obnoxious to lawleſs "power. My enemies had no crime to lay to my charge, unleſs "it be a crime to deteſt evil men, and evil meaſures. Life is no "longer worth my care: it may, indeed, be prolonged beyond "the term that ſeems to remain for Tiberius: but from a youth- "ful tyrant, ready to ſeize the commonwealth as his prey, what "ſhield can guard me? In deſpotic power there is a charm that "can poiſon the beſt underſtanding. Of this truth Tiberius is "an example. And is it to be expected that Caligula, ſcarce yet "arrived to the ſtate of manhood, a novice in buſineſs, with a "mind trained up in the moſt pernicious maxims, will, under "ſuch a guide as Macro, purſue better meaſures? Macro will "direct his councils; that very Macro, who, for his pre-eminence "in guilt, was ſelected to work the downfal of Sejanus. Since "that time, what has been his character? He has been the "ſcourge, the oppreſſor of the commonwealth. A period of "calamity, more dreadful than what we have ſeen, is yet to "come: from the memory of the paſt, and the pangs of future "miſery, I chooſe to make my eſcape." Having, in this pro- phetic ſtrain, delivered his ſentiments, he opened his veins, and

bled to death. That he acted with wiſdom, as well as courage, the times that follow will give ample proof.

Albucilla made an attempt on her own life; but the wound not proving mortal, ſhe was, by order of the ſenate, hurried away to priſon. The ſenate paſſed a decree againſt ſuch as were connected with her in adulterous practices. By that ſentence, Grafidius Sacerdos, of prætorian rank, was baniſhed to an iſland, and Pontius Fregellanus was expelled the ſenate. The like judgment was pronounced againſt Lælius Balbus, the fathers concurring with pleaſure in the condemnation of a man, whoſe pernicious talents and overbearing eloquence were ever ready to work the ruin of truth and virtue.

XLIX. About the ſame time, Sextus Papinius *(a)*, a man deſcended from a family of conſular rank, choſe a mode of death both ſhocking and ignominious. He threw himſelf headlong from a precipice, and expired on the ſpot. The cauſe of this dreadful cataſtrophe was imputed to his mother. Having conceived an unnatural paſſion for her ſon, this woman, though often repulſed, ſtill perſiſted to ſolicit his paſſions, and, at length, by alluring arts and the baits of luxury, reduced the young man to a ſituation, in which an act of deſpair was his only remedy. Being cited to appear before the ſenate, ſhe threw herſelf at the feet of the fathers, and tried by every art to awaken compaſſion. The anguiſh of a parent, ſhe ſaid, pierced her to the quick, and the weakneſs of her ſex was unequal to ſuch a load of miſery. She omitted nothing that could touch the heart, and mitigate reſentment; but the fathers were inexorable. She was baniſhed from Rome for ten years, that, in the mean time, her ſecond ſon might paſs the ſeaſon of life, in which the young and tender mind is liable to ſeduction.

Tibe-

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L. TIBERIUS now drew near his end: his ſtrength declined, his ſpirits ſunk, and every thing failed, except his diſſimulation. The ſame auſterity ſtill remained, the ſame energy and rigour of mind. He talked in a deciſive tone; he looked with eagerneſs; and even, at times, affected an air of gaiety. Diſſembling to the laſt, he hoped by falſe appearances to hide the decay of nature. Weary, reſtleſs, and impatient, he could not ſtay long in one place. After various changes, he ſtopt at a villa, formerly the property *(a)* of Lucullus, near the promontory of Miſenum. It was here firſt known that his diſſolution was approaching faſt. The diſcovery was made in the following manner. A phyſician, of the name of Charicles, highly eminent in his profeſſion, attended the train of Tiberius, not employed to preſcribe, but occaſionally aſſiſting with friendly advice. Pretending to have avocations that required his attendance elſewhere, he approached the emperor to take his leave, and reſpectfully laying hold of his hand, contrived, in the act of ſaluting it, to feel his pulſe. The artifice did not eſcape the notice of Tiberius. It probably gave him offence, but, for that reaſon, he ſmothered his reſentment. With an air of cheerfulneſs, he ordered the banquet to be ſerved, and, ſeemingly with intent to honour his departing friend, continued at table beyond his uſual time. Charicles was not to be deceived. He ſaw a rapid decline, and aſſured Macro that two days, at moſt, would cloſe the ſcene. For that event meaſures were immediately taken: councils were held in private, and diſpatches were ſent to the army, and the ſeveral commanders at their reſpective ſtations. On the ſeventeenth before the calends of April, Tiberius had a fainting fit: he lay for ſome time in a ſtate of languor, ſpeechleſs, without motion, and was thought to be dead. A band of courtiers ſurrounded Caligula, eager to pay their court, and all congratulating the prince on his acceſſion to the imperial dignity. Caligula was actually going forth to be proclaimed emperor, when

word was brought, that Tiberius was come to himſelf, and called for a cordial to revive his fainting ſpirits. The whole party was ſtruck with terror: the crowd diſperſed; ſome with dejected looks, others with a cheerful mien, as if unconſcious of what had happened. Caligula ſtood at gaze, aſtoniſhed, and almoſt out of his ſenſes. He had, but a moment before, one foot on the throne, and now was thrown from the ſummit of his ambition. He remained fixed in deſpair, as if awaiting the ſtroke of death. Macro alone was undiſmayed. With firmneſs and preſence of mind, he cleared the emperor's room, and gave orders that the remains of life ſhould be ſmothered under a load of clothes. Such was the end of Tiberius, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age.

LI. He was the ſon of Tiberius Nero; by the paternal and maternal line of the houſe of Claudius, though his mother paſſed by adoption into the Livian, and afterwards into the Julian family. The beginning of his days was clouded with misfortunes, and expoſed to various perils. In his infancy, he was torn away from Rome, and forced to wander with his father, then on the liſt of the proſcribed. When a marriage took place between Livia and Auguſtus, he was introduced into the imperial houſe, but had to contend with powerful rivals, as long as Marcellus, Agrippa, and the two Cæſars, Caius and Lucius, flouriſhed at the court of Auguſtus. In the eyes of the people, his brother Druſus overſhadowed him. By his marriage with Julia, his ſituation was rendered ſtill more embarraſſing. Whether he connived at her vices, or abandoned her in reſentment, the dilemma was either way, full of difficulty. Being recalled from the iſle of Rhodes, he found Auguſtus deprived of heirs, and from that time continued for twelve years, without a rival, the hope and pillar of the imperial family. He ſucceeded to the empire, and governed Rome near three-and-twenty years. His manners, like

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his fortune, had their revolutions, and their diſtinctive periods; amiable *(a)*, while a private man; and, in the higheſt employments under Auguſtus, eſteemed and honoured. During the lives of Druſus and Germanicus, he played an artificial character, concealing his vices, and aſſuming the exteriors of virtue. After their deceaſe, and while his mother lived, good and evil were equally blended in his conduct. Deteſted for his cruelty, he had the art, while he loved or feared Sejanus, to throw a veil over his moſt depraved and vicious appetites. All reſtraint being at length removed, he broke out without fear or ſhame, and, during the remainder of his life, hurried away by his own unbridled paſſions, made his reign one ſcene of luſt, and cruelty, and horror.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

NOTES

ON THE

SIX FIRST BOOKS

OF

THE ANNALS.

NOTES

ON THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(a) IN this introduction, Tacitus gives us a co[illegible] he Roman government in all its various forms, and every deviation from its firſt principles, from the foundation of the city to the eſtabliſhment of the Cæſars. The ſeveral forms were as follows:

1. The regal government, which laſted, under ſeven ſucceſſive kings, above two hundred and forty years, and ended at laſt by the expulſion of Tarquin.

2. The conſulſhip, and the republican government eſtabliſhed by Brutus, A. U. C. 245; before the Chriſtian æra 509.

3. The ſupreme authority of the dictator, created in preſſing exigencies, and for a limited time. This office was firſt inſtituted, according to Livy, A. U. C. 253.

4. The decemvirs appointed to frame a body of laws. They were the only magiſtrates. The government, which was transferred from kings to conſuls, was now veſted in the decemvirs. Their code of laws was finiſhed within two years. It was called the TWELVE TABLES. The well known tyranny of Appius brought upon them the name of the TEN TARQUINS. Their magiſtracy ended A. U. C. 305.

5. The military tribunes, in a violent contention between the patricians and commonalty, inveſted with the authority of the conſuls, and exerciſing

exerciſing all the functions of thoſe two magiſtrates, A. U. C. 310. In the following year the conſular government was once more reſtored.

6. The uſurpation of Cinna, A. U. C. 667.

7. The domination of Sylla, who aſſumed the power of dictator A. U. C. 672, and continued in that ſtation till the year 675, when he made a voluntary abdication, and retired to lead the life of a private citizen.

8. The triumvirate of Pompey, Craſſus, and Julius Cæſar, A. U. C. 699. This was a faction, not a legal inſtitution.

9. Cæſar perpetual dictator, A. U. C. 706.

10. The triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Auguſtus, A. U. C. 711.

11. The ſupreme power veſted in Auguſtus, A. U. C. 724. Such were the various changes of government, which Tacitus has enumerated with his uſual comprehenſive brevity. Each of them forms an important æra, and all, well developed, would furniſh a complete political hiſtory of Rome.

(b) The original ſays ſimply under the name of prince, meaning *prince of the ſenate*; a title well known in the time of the old republic, and always given to the ſenator whoſe name ſtood firſt on the cenſor's roll. When the conſul called upon the fathers for their opinions, he began with the PRINCEPS SENATUS. Under that conſtitutional name, Auguſtus ſeemed rather to accept than to arrogate to himſelf the management of the ſtate. Tacitus ſays afterwards, ſection ix. that the government was neither ſettled under a monarch nor a dictator, but under the title of prince. *Non regno, neque dictaturâ, ſed principis nomine conſtitutam rempublicam.* Auguſtus underſtood the policy of not aſſuming invidious titles in the outſet of his reign; but it was owing to him that, in proceſs of time, the word *princeps* no longer ſignified *prince of the ſenate*, but, in the modern acceptation, the ſupreme ruler of the ſtate.

Section II.

(a) Brutus and Caſſius, after their defeat at the battle of Philippi, diſpatched themſelves, A. U. C. 712, having both reſolved before the engagement, that, if they did not conquer, they would have nothing to fear from their enemies.—Plutarch, Life of Brutus. They were the two laſt Roman patriots, and public liberty died with them. Sextus Pompeius, the ſon of Pompey the Great, was defeated by Agrippa in a naval engagement on the coaſt of Sicily. He fled into Aſia, and was there put to death A. U. C. 719. Florus, lib. iv. cap. 8. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 72, 73. Lepidus was at the head of twenty legions, but was diſmantled of his power by the policy of Auguſtus. Marc Antony died a voluntary death.

(b) The office of tribune of the people originated in the following manner: The inferior citizens made a ſeceſſion to the *Mons Sacer*, A. U. C. 259, and refuſed to return till they were allowed to chooſe magiſtrates of their own. The number at firſt was two; in the year of Rome 283, five were choſen; and in 297, ten. By their *interceſſion* in any buſineſs, they could ſtop the proceedings of the ſenate, and all the magiſtrates. In proceſs of time, their authority was held to be ſacred. No man could preſume to interrupt them in their harangues, and they could command all to be ſilent. They could ſtop all legiſlation, and alſo the execution of the laws. A new form was thus introduced into the conſtitution, which threw the weight into the democratic ſcale; and this extraordinary power, Cicero ſays, ſaved the republic; becauſe, in the hands of a turbulent multitude, it would have been nothing but uproar and confuſion. The tribunes, however, could at their pleaſure control the other magiſtrates, and that was the popular title which Auguſtus aſſumed. It gave him, under a republican name, the whole force and energy of the government. He knew the art of diſguiſing tyranny under conſtitutional forms. *Arcanum novi ſtatûs, imago antiqui.* Tacitus ſays in another place, that Auguſtus, under that artful diſguiſe, found the way, without the name of *king* or *dictator*, to make himſelf ſuperior to the legiſlative and the executive powers of the commonwealth. *Id ſummi faſtigii vocabulum Auguſtus reperit,*

reperit, ne REGIS *aut* DICTATORIS *nomen adſumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliquâ cætera imperia præemineret.*—Annals, book iii. ſ. 56.

Section III.

(a) Octavia was the ſiſter of Auguſtus. For more of her, ſee the Genealogical Table of the Cæſars, vol. ii. No. 16. For Marcellus, ſee *ibidem*, No. 18.

(b) For Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus, married firſt to Marcellus and afterwards to Agrippa, ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 46. For Agrippa, ſee No. 47.

(c) An account of Livia and her firſt huſband is given in the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 66. For Druſus, ſee No. 79; and Tiberius, No. 68. The title of *imperator* implied no more than the commander of an army. It was uſually given by the ſoldiers in their camp, or in the field after a victory, to the general whom they approved. Auguſtus, and the following emperors, granted the name to their favourites as an honourable diſtinction. Tiberius reſerved it for the emperor only. See Annals, book iii. ſ. 74. Being always, with other titles, annexed to the imperial dignity, it ſerved, at length, to convey the idea now underſtood by the word EMPEROR.

(d) Caius and Lucius were the ſons of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus. See Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 48 and 49. The Roman law made no difference between adoption and natural filiation; conſequently the two ſons of Agrippa, being adopted by Auguſtus, became part of the Cæſarean family.

(e) Agrippa Poſthumus, ſo called becauſe he was born after his father's death. See Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 50.

(f) For the iſland of Planaſia, ſee Geographical Table at the end of this volume.

(g) Tiberius had a ſon, named Druſus, by his firſt wife Vipſania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæſars, vol. ii. No. 70. Druſus was afterwards cut off by Sejanus. See Annals, book iv. ſ. 8.

(h) The ſlaughter of Varus and his three legions was A. U. C.

762. See an account of it in Suetonius, in Aug. ſ. 23. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 117; and alſo in this book, ſ. 58, 60, 61.

(i) The battle of Actium was A. U. C. 723. For Actium, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section IV.

(a) By the equal condition of Roman citizens we are not to underſtand *equality of ranks*, which never did and never can ſubſiſt in any age or country. The equal condition of the people conſiſted in their having a voice in the making of laws, in all queſtions about war and peace, and in all affairs of moment.

(b) The pride of the Claudian family, from which Tiberius was deſcended both by the paternal and the maternal line, is painted forth in lively colours by Suetonius, in Tib. ſ. 1 and 2.

(c) For an account of Tiberius in the iſle of Rhodes, ſee Suet. in Tib. ſ. 10, 11, 12.

(d) Druſus (the ſon of Tiberius) and Germanicus, who, at that time, commanded the legions on the Rhine.

Section VI.

(a) He was grand-nephew to Salluſt, the great hiſtorian. See Annals, book iii. ſ. 30. If he diſcloſed the ſecret, he was ſure to incur the reſentment of the emperor; if he concealed it, the ſenate might condemn him for the murder.

Section VII.

(a) There were two forms of oaths; one, when they ſwore by the name of the prince; the other, when they bound themſelves to ſupport his acts. The laſt was introduced by Romulus, and is called by Ulpian, LEX REGIA. It was the foundation of the monarchy. Julius Cæſar renewed it, to ſupport his own ambition.—Suet. *in* Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 84. It ſhould ſeem, from what Tacitus ſays, that, on the preſent occaſion, they ſwore by the name, not the acts of Tiberius. The latter oath was voted afterwards by the ſenate, but Tiberius oppoſed it. This book, ſ. 72.

(b) Turranius was the confidential friend of Auguſtus, and by him, towards the latter end of his reign, appointed præfect of corn and grain; an office which that emperor had generally kept in his own hands.

(c) In every Roman camp the general's tent, or pavilion, was called the PRÆTORIUM, becauſe the ancient Latins ſtyled all their commanders, PRÆTORS. Scipio Africanus formed a *prætorian cohort*, or a body of ſelect men, who were ſtationed near his pavilion, holding themſelves in readineſs to attend their general in all ſudden emergencies. In the time of Auguſtus, the emperor's tent was called PRÆTORIUM AUGUSTALE. The name was continued by his ſucceſſors; and the ſoldiers, who formed the emperor's body guard, were called the *prætorian cohorts*, under the command of an officer, inſtituted with a ſpecial commiſſion, in which he was ſtyled PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORII. The ſoldiers were for ſome time quartered at Rome, till Sejanus, in order to forward his own dark deſigns, perſuaded Tiberius to form a prætorian camp at a ſmall diſtance from the city.—Annals, book iv. ſ. 2.

(d) Tiberius appeared with the ſame external pomp, and all the honours that diſtinguiſhed Auguſtus; namely, the *faſces* wreathed with laurels, a train of lictors, and whatever at that time was appropriated to the emperor. The purple, and the diadem, in imitation of eaſtern monarchy, were introduced at a later period.

Section VIII.

(a) Suetonius informs us, that Auguſtus made his will a year and four months before his death, and committed it to the care of the veſtal virgins. Two-thirds of his money, which he had taken care to depoſit in his exchequer, he gave to Tiberius, and the reſt to Livia. In the event of their death, one-third was to go to Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius; and the other two-thirds to Germanicus and his three ſons. If they did not ſurvive him, he left the whole to his relations and friends.—Suet. in Aug. ſ. 101.

(b) Suetonius ſeems to have given a diſtinct account of theſe ſeveral legacies. Tacitus mentions a groſs ſum to the nation, and the populace; *populo* et *plebi*. What was given to the former was of courſe

carried into the public treaſury, *ærarium*; the reſt was diſtributed to the inferior citizens. Suetonius ſeparates the two legacies, and the tranſlator has ventured to follow him. Suetonius ſays that forty millions of ſeſterces were bequeathed to the ROMAN PEOPLE; to each of the tribes, thirty-five thouſand; to the prætorian guards, one thouſand to each; to the city cohorts, five hundred; and to the ſoldiers of the legions, three hundred to each. He fixed ſtated times for the payment of the ſeveral legacies, declaring, that not above one hundred and fifty millions of ſeſterces would go to his heirs, though in the laſt twenty years of his life he had received in legacies no leſs than fourteen hundred millions, all which, beſides his own paternal eſtate, he had expended on the public.—Suet. in Aug. ſ. 101.

With regard to the Roman coin, the tranſlator thinks proper to acknowledge, that he does not pretend to accuracy, whenever the great and ſmall ſeſterces occur in the original. He believes that the reader, in general, will not be anxious about the exact valuation. The curious in ſuch matters are referred to a diſſertation on the ſubject in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxviii. 4to edit. He will there find that *ſeſtertius nummus* was a piece of money worth about four ſols of French money; and *ſeſtertium pondus* about 204 livres, 3 ſols, and 4 d. Another peculiarity is explained in the diſſertation juſt mentioned. Whenever the Latin adverbs, ſuch as *decies*, *vicies*, *centies*, *ſeſtertium*, occur in the original, *centena millia* muſt always be underſtood; ſo that *decies ſeſtertium* is ten hundred thouſand, or one million of ſmall ſeſterces. It follows, that the numeral letters in the text, ccccxxxv, imply, *quadringenties tricies quinquies centena millia ſeſtertium*, that is, four hundred and thirty-five times one hundred thouſand ſmall ſeſterces. Monſieur Guerin, who has given a valuable tranſlation of Tacitus, explains the legacy of the emperor agreeably to what has been ſtated. Auguſtus, he ſays, left to the Roman people, that is, to the ſtate, one hundred thouſand ſeſterces four hundred times told; and to each of the five-and-thirty tribes, one hundred thouſand ſeſterces, to be diſtributed among the poorer citizens. This note has run into length; but it was thought neceſſary, that the curious in Roman coins may not expect more than is intended.

Section IX.

(a) Immediately after the battle of Modena, in which Hirtius and Panſa were defeated, Auguſtus, on the fourteenth before the calends of September, that is, on the 19th of Auguſt, A. U. C. 711, was conſul for the firſt time. He was, afterwards, thirteen times conſul. Valerius Corvinus was ſix times conſul, and Marius ſeven times; both together making their number equal to Auguſtus. It muſt however be remembered, that he was not emperor of Rome till the defeat of Marc Antony, at the battle of Actium, A. U. C. 723. He died on the 19th of Auguſt, in the year of Rome 767.

(b) The diſtant rivers were, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.

Section X.

(a) Hirtius and Panſa were conſuls A. U. C. 711. They gave battle to Marc Antony near Modena, and obliged him to abandon Italy. Hirtius fell in the engagement, and Panſa, in a ſhort time after, died of his wounds. Suetonius (Life of Auguſtus, ſ. 1.) ſays, that Glyco, the ſurgeon, was ſuſpected of infuſing poiſon into the wound; but Cicero refutes the charge, and vindicates the character of his friend.—See Letters to Brutus, epiſt. vi.

(b) This was the firſt conſulſhip of Auguſtus: he drew near the city walls, and demanded it in the name of the legions.—Suetonius, in Aug. ſ. 26. He had not then obtained the tribunitian power, and therefore was not maſter of the commonwealth. He was at that time in his twentieth year.

(c) Auguſtus collected together the veteran ſoldiers who had fought under Julius Cæſar, and received a commiſſion from the ſenate to join Hirtius and Panſa againſt Marc Antony.—See Suet. Life of Auguſtus, ſ. 10; and Cicero's Philippics *paſſim.*

(d) For an account of the extreme rigour with which Auguſtus enforced the proſcription of the triumvirate, ſee Suetonius, in Aug. ſ. 27.

(e) The alliance between Auguſtus and Marc Antony was often violated, and renewed by the interpoſition of friends. Horace's account of his journey to Brunduſium is ſuppoſed by Dacier to have been

been written A. U. C. 713, when the poet met Mæcenas and Cocceius Nerva, the famous lawyer, who were then employed to ſettle the treaty of Brunduſium, by which Antony (his wife Fulvia being then dead) agreed to marry Octavia, the ſiſter of Auguſtus. The treaty of Tarentum was about three years afterwards.

(f) Marcus Lollius was defeated in Germany A. U. C. 738. The ſlaughter of Varus and his three legions was A. U. 762.—See Suet. in Aug. ſ. 23; and Florus, lib. iv. cap. 12.

(g) Varro Muræna and Marcus Egnatius ſuffered for a conſpiracy. Julius Antonius was ſon to Antony the triumvir, by his wife Fulvia. He was engaged in an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus, and for that offence was put to death. Velleius Paterculus ſays he diſpatched himſelf. Horace's ode, *Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet æmulari*, is addreſſed to him.

(b) The exceſſive luxury of Vedius Pollio is well known. Dio Caſſius ſays that he fattened his lampreys and other fiſh with human blood. Of Quintus Tedius nothing more is known.

(i) Suetonius ſays, Auguſtus, though he knew that temples were often raiſed in the provinces in honour of the proconſuls, allowed none to be erected to himſelf, unleſs they were at the ſame time dedicated to the Roman people. In the city he abſolutely refuſed all honours of that kind. Suet. in Aug. ſ. 52.

Section XI.

(a) Tacitus ſays, in another place, that Tiberius valued himſelf more for his art of diſſimulation, than for all his other talents. He placed it in the rank of virtues, and hated the man who attempted to diſcover the ſecrets of his heart. *Nullam æquè Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus ſuis, quam diſſimulationem diligebat. Eò ægrius accepit, recludi quæ premeret.* Annals, book iv. ſ. 71.

(b) The pacific ſyſtem, recommended by Auguſtus, was adopted by his two immediate ſucceſſors. Tiberius and Caligula were contented with their triumph over the laws, and the lives and fortunes of the moſt eminent citizens. The purſuit of pleaſure, and the exerciſe of domeſtic tyranny, baniſhed all ideas of military glory; and their dread

of ſuperior merit made them withhold from their generals the renown in arms which they themſelves deſpiſed. Under the auſpices of the emperor Claudius, Britain was invaded, and finally reduced by Agricola in the reign of Domitian. That was the only addition to the Roman empire during the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra. Trajan, afterwards, departed from the moderation of Auguſtus. He reduced the whole vaſt territory of Dacia, which lay beyond the Danube, to the form of a Roman province, and extended his conqueſts into Armenia, Meſopotamia, and other countries as far as the gulf of Perſia. His death cloſed the career of victory. His ſucceſſor, Hadrian, renounced all the eaſtern conqueſts, chooſing to make the precept of Auguſtus the rule of his conduct.

Section XII.

(a) Aſinius Gallus was ſon to Aſinius Pollio, the famous orator, and confidential friend of Auguſtus. Horace and Virgil have made the father immortal. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 12, note *(e)*.

(b) Vipſania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Vipſanius Agrippa, was married to Tiberius, who was divorced from her at the deſire of Auguſtus, that he might be at liberty to marry the emperor's daughter Julia, at that time the widow of Agrippa. Vipſania, when repudiated, was far advanced in her pregnancy. She was delivered of Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, in the houſe of her ſecond huſband. Tiberius always thought of her with real affection, and educated her ſon Druſus as his own. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 69.

Section XIII.

(a) Lucius Arruntius was conſul A. U. C. 722. Pliny the elder makes honourable mention of his talents, and ranks him with the eminent authors of the age.

(b) The character of Marcus Lepidus is drawn by Tacitus, Annals, book iv. ſ. 20. He is there celebrated for his political wiſdom, and the virtues of moderation. See alſo Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 114.

For

For Cneius Piſo, who was afterwards the mortal enemy of Germanicus, ſee Annals, book ii. ſ. 43.

(c) The queſtion put by Haterius ſeems to imply a compliment. Tiberius, perhaps, thought it came from a man who ſaw through his affected delays. Mamercus Scaurus is mentioned, Annals, book iii. ſ. 31, as one of the moſt eloquent orators of his time, and afterwards, ſ. 66, as a man whoſe diſſolute manners made him a diſgrace to an illuſtrious line of anceſtors. His vices are deſcribed by Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, lib. iv. cap. 31. Being accuſed of writing verſes againſt Tiberius, he prevented a ſentence of condemnation by a voluntary death. Annals, book vi. ſ. 29. What he ſays in the ſenate is a pointed remark, and no wonder that it provoked reſentment. Tiberius, by virtue of his tribunitian power, might have put an end to the importunity of the ſenate. Since he did not uſe his authority, it was evident that he was acting a part, and Scaurus, by his obſervation, pulled off the maſk. Suetonius ſays, the ſenate grew impatient: according to him, a member cried out, "Let him accept the ſovereignty, or renounce it at once." Another ſaid, "Some men are quick to promiſe, and ſlow to perform: Tiberius is the reverſe; he acts already, and yet will not promiſe." Tiberius ſaw that the farce laſted too long. He therefore ſaid, "I accept the imperial dignity, till you yourſelves ſhall "think fit to relieve old age from ſuch a weight of care." Suetonius, in Tib. ſ. 24.

Section XIV.

(a) Livia took the name of *Julia*, in conſequence of her adoption into the *Julian* family. Tiberius, notwithſtanding, thought the appointment of a lictor too great an honour. Claudius was afterwards more indulgent to his wife Agrippina. Two lictors were ordered to attend her.

(b) When the Romans wiſhed to perpetuate the memory of a ſingular event, they raiſed an altar, and engraved the particulars of the tranſaction. Auguſtus, after living above ſeven-and-thirty years with Livia as his acknowledged wife, choſe, in the end, to make her his daughter

daughter by adoption. The fathers meant to pay their court to Livia, but Tiberius did not approve of ſo much adulation.

(c) The proconſular authority was often granted to generals at the head of diſtant armies, but never exerciſed within the city.

(d) Druſus, as already mentioned, was the ſon of Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 70.

(e) He broke his promiſe afterwards, and, according to Dio Caſſius, appointed no leſs than fifteen or ſixteen candidates.

Section XV.

(a) Tiberius had all the arts of a ſubtle and diſguiſed politician. He knew that by depriving the people of the laſt remnant of liberty, their right to a voice in the election of magiſtrates, and veſting it in the ſenate, he ſhould eſtabliſh his own abſolute power. The ſenate, at all times adverſe to the claims of the people, ſaw with pleaſure the annihilation of a reſtleſs, factious, and turbulent democracy; never once reflecting that their order, unſupported by the people, could make but a feeble reſiſtance to the will of a deſpotic prince. The people, on their part, complained of the alteration; but they complained without principle, or a ſenſe of public intereſt, merely becauſe they loſt the opportunity of ſelling their votes. Juvenal deſcribes the people, who in the days of the republic granted the conſulſhip and the command of armies, reduced to think of two things only; their bread, and the games of the circus.

——————— Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, faſces, legiones, omnia, nunc ſe
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
PANEM ET CIRCENSES. SAT. x. ver. 78.

(b) The triumphal robe was a rich purple, intermixed with gold. Pliny ſays it was in uſe in Homer's time, and for that reaſon adopted by the Roman generals.

(c) There were eight prætors, but two only had juriſdiction; one in all cauſes between citizen and citizen; the other, between citizens and ſtrangers. See the Life of Agricola, ſ. 6, note *(d)*.

Section

Section XVI.

(a) A ſuſpenſion of all buſineſs whatever, occaſioned by ſome melancholy event, was called *juſtitium.* See a deſcription of it in Lucan, lib. ii. v. 19.

(b) Theatrical factions were often the cauſe of great public miſchief. See Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. xxix. note *(c)*.

Section XVII.

(a) In the time of the republic, the cavalry ſerved ten years, and the infantry twenty. The civil wars prolonged the ſervice.

(b) The ſoldiers, who had ſerved their full time, were not diſcharged, but ſtill continued to enter into action when occaſion required. They encamped apart from the legions, under a banner called *vexillum*, and thence the name of *vexillarii.* They were alſo called *veterans.*

(c) The daily pay of a Roman ſoldier, Brotier ſays, was equal to ten *ſous* of French money.

(d) The Roman *denarius* is ſaid to be equal to ſixteen ſous of French money.

Section XX.

(a) The companies of foot were called *manipuli.* They conſiſted, in the time of Romulus, of 100 men, and thence the principal officer was called *centurio.* They increaſed afterwards to 200, but the name of centurion ſtill remained. A common ſoldier was called *manipularis.*

Section XXII.

(a) The Roman generals had in their camp a band of gladiators, in order to accuſtom their ſoldiers to wounds, and the effuſion of blood.

Section XXIV.

(a) For the character of Ælius Sejanus, ſee Annals, book iv. ſ. 1.

Section XXVII.

(a) Tacitus has recorded the praiſe of Lentulus, Annals, book iv. ſ. 44.

Section XXVIII.

(a) This eclipſe, according to the calculation of eminent mathematicians, happened on the 27th of September, A. U. C. 767, of the Chriſtian æra 14. Auguſtus died on the 19th of the preceding month of Auguſt.

Section XXIX.

(a) Every legion was divided into thirty companies, 200 men in each; and again, the companies were diſtinguiſhed into *haſtati*, *principes*, *triarii*. Every company had two centurions; the firſt in command was called PRIMIPILUS, or PRIMIPILARIS.

Section XXXI.

(a) The whole tract of Gaul, on the borders of the Rhine, was reduced to ſubjection, and divided by Auguſtus into Upper and Lower Germany. Whenever they are mentioned, it will be proper to bear in mind, that both lay on this ſide of the Rhine, and were no part of Germany, properly ſo called. For a further account of this matter, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. 1, note *(a)*.

(b) In collecting the tributes in the ſeveral provinces, the Romans made an accurate ſurvey of the people, and an eſtimate of their riches: this was called *cenſum agere*.

(c) The Roman generals, and the emperors after them, took an honorary title from the conquered country. Scipio was ſtyled AFRICANUS; Druſus, the brother of Tiberius, was called GERMANICUS, and his ſon was known by no other name. The emperor Claudius aſſumed the addition of GERMANICUS.

Section XXXII.

(a) It has been obſerved, ſection xxix. note *(a)*, that there were in every legion thirty companies, with two centurions to each.

(b) Chærea was the chief of the conſpirators againſt Caligula. He deſired that he might have the glory of ſtriking the firſt blow. Suet. in Calig. ſ. 56.

Section

Section XXXIII.

(a) For Agrippina, ſee the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 51.

(b) Druſus died A. U. C. 745. See Genealogical Table, No. 79.

Section XXXIV.

(a) The original ſays, *Belgicæ civitates.* By the word *civitas*, the Roman authors do not always mean a city, in the modern ſenſe of the word; but a body politic, a ſtate, a people.

(b) Tiberius conquered in Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Illyricum. He commanded in Germany, and obtained ſeveral victories. Suet. in Tib. ſ. xviii and xx. Velleius Paterc. lib. ii. ſ. 104.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) The territory of the Chaucians lay between the rivers Amiſia (the *Ems)* and Albis (the *Elbe).* Hence it appears, that after the ſlaughter of Varus the Romans were ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong holds in Germany. The garriſon quartered in Germany began to mutiny, but the præfect of the camp ordered two of the ringleaders to be executed. This was againſt law. The præfect of the camp had no authority to puniſh with death. That power was veſted in the commander in chief. Leſſer puniſhments were inflicted by the tribunes and centurions.

(b) He turned towards the river, i. e. the Rhine, and led the mutineers to their winter quarters.

Section XXXIX.

(a) The Ubian altar, now *Bonn.* See the Geographical Table.

(b) The original ſays, *vexillum.* This, on the authority of Lipſius, is called in the tranſlation the *purple ſtandard*, which was always at the head-quarters, till produced as the ſignal for engaging the enemy. Some of the commentators contend that it was the banner, under which the veterans were retained in the ſervice.

(c) The enſigns and the eagles were the Gods of a Roman army. Tacitus calls them *propria legionum numina.* Tertullian ſays, *Religio Romanorum tota caſtrenſis; ſigna veneratur, ſigna jurat, et omnibus diis præponit.*

Section XL.

(a) This was Caligula, afterwards emperor. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 86.

Section XLI.

(a) Caligula was born in Germany:

In caſtris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam deſignati principis omen erat.

Suetonius ſeems to think that he was born at Antium, in Italy. Suet. in Calig. ſ. 8.

Section XLII.

(a) Not his real father Druſus, who was long ſince dead. He means Tiberius, who had adopted him by order of Auguſtus, as already mentioned, ſ. 3. See the fine paſſage in Cicero. *Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares: ſed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt; pro quâ quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere.* De Officiis, lib. i. ſ. 17.

(b) Germanicus, the adopted ſon of Tiberius.

(c) The ſoldiers of the tenth legion, being quartered at Rome, demanded of Julius Cæſar the arrears of their pay, and a diſcharge from the ſervice. He yielded to their clamour, and diſbanded the whole corps. He then addreſſed them in a ſoothing ſpeech, and, as they were no longer ſoldiers, called them QUIRITES. By that ſingle word the men were ſoftened, and once more liſted in the ſervice. Suet. in Cæſ. ſ. 70. After the battle of Actium, Auguſtus quelled a mutiny at Brunduſium. Suet. in Aug. ſ. 17.

Section XLIII.

(a) The image of Druſus was diſplayed among the eagles and ſtandards.

Section XLIV.

(a) The rewards of the ſoldiers valour were a chain, a bracelet, a ſpear,

ſpear, a branch of oak. *Servati civis referentem præmia quercum.* See in book ii. ſ. 9, the military honours obtained by Flavius, the brother of Arminius.

Section XLV.

(a) Vetera is the ſame as *vetera caſtra*, the old camp; a place rendered famous by the ſiege conducted by Civilis, the Batavian chief. Hiſt. book iv. ſ. 22. It is now called *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves.

Section XLVI.

(a) Suetonius ſays there was not a province, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not viſit. In Aug. ſ. 47.

Section XLVII.

(a) Tiberius, in the two firſt years after his acceſſion, never once ſtirred out of Rome; nor did he afterwards venture further than Antium, or the iſle of Caprea. He pretended an intention to viſit the provinces, and made preparations every year, without ſo much as beginning a journey. He was at laſt called CALLIPEDES, a man famous in Greece for being in a hurry, and never advancing an inch. Suet. in Tib. ſ. 38.

Section XLVIII.

(a) The tents are called, in the original, *Contubernia.* They were large enough for ten ſoldiers, who were lodged together.

Section XLIX.

(a) He threw a bridge over the Rhine.

Section L.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) The rampart was raiſed by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, in the reign of Auguſtus. Cluverius ſays, it was near the city, now called *Schermbeck.* See Germ. Antiqua, lib. iii. cap. 9.

(c) This

(c) This road, Brotier ſays, ſtretched from weſt to eaſt, along the banks of the river LUPPIA (the *Lippe)* as far as ALISO, now *Elſen.*

(d) The Marſians dwelt in the *dioceſe of Munſter*, between the rivers Amiſia and Luppia.

Section LI.

(a) Woods and foreſts were the ſanctuaries held in veneration by the Germans. The temple of *Tanfan* was an exception to the general cuſtom. We are told by antiquarians, that the word was compoſed of *Tan*, ſylva, a wood, and *fane*, dominus, or lord. Amelot de la Houſſaye ſays it was dedicated to the *firſt cauſe of all*, or the ſupreme being. See Manners of the Germans, ſ. ix. note *(d)*.

Section LIII.

(a) She was married to Agrippa, and had by him three ſons, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Poſthumus; and alſo two daughters, Agrippina and Julia. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 46.

(b) For more of him and his ſon Caius Gracchus, ſee Annals, book iv. ſ. 13.

Section LIV.

(a) For an account of theatrical factions, ſee Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. xxix. note *(c)*. Bathyllus, the pantomime performer, is diſtinguiſhed by Horace for his graceful movement.

——————— Nec cum ſis cætera foſſor,
Tres tantum ad numeros ſatyri moveare Bathylli.

He is alſo mentioned by Juvenal:

Chironemon Ledam molli ſaltante Bathyllo.
SAT. vi. ver. 63.

Section LV.

(a) Arminius, according to Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 118, was the ſon of Sigimer, a Cheruſcan chief. Inguiomer was his father's brother, and of courſe uncle to Arminius, as mentioned in this book,

ſ. 60. Arminius had a brother, whoſe name was Flavius. Annals, book ii. ſ. 9. Segeſtes was another leading chieftain among the Cheruſcans. His daughter was raviſhed from him by Arminius. His ſon Segimund is mentioned in this book, ſ. 57. This account of the German chieftains will make the ſequel, in this and the next book, more eaſily underſtood.

Section LVI.

(a) Mount Taunus, near Magontiacum (now *Mayence*), Brotier ſays is now called *Heyrich*.

Section LVII.

(a) Her name, according to Strabo, was Thuſnelda. Her deportment here deſcribed would be a fine ſubject for an hiſtorical painter.

Section LVIII.

(a) The account here promiſed, and without doubt given either in the Annals or the Hiſtory, is totally loſt. Strabo ſays that the ſon, who was called Thumelicus by the Romans, walked among the captives in the triumph of Germanicus, which is mentioned, Annals, book ii. ſ. 41.

Section LX.

(a) The Lakes, which are now loſt in the vaſt gulf, called the Zuider-Zée.

(b) The commentators give different accounts of the Teutoburgian foreſt. Guerin, the French tranſlator of Tacitus, ſays it lay in the dioceſe of Munſter, where there is at this day a place called *Varendorp*, which ſignifies the burgh of Varus. Brotier places it in the dioceſe of Paderborn, near the town of *Horn*, not far from *Paderborn*, where there is a foreſt called *Teuteberg*; and a field called *Winfeldt*: that is, the field of victory. To confirm his opinion, he ſays that bones and military weapons, and alſo medals of Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus, are often dug up in thoſe woods.

Section

Section LXI.

(a) The part of a Roman camp, where the arms and eagles were depoſited, was called *principia.* As the traces of three ſuch places were viſible, there could be no doubt but they were the work of three legions.

Section LXIII.

(a) The cauſeway, called the long bridge, was conſtructed by Lucius Domitius, the grandfather of the emperor Nero. According to Suetonius, he was, in the early part of life, as famous for his ſkill in driving a curricle as his grandſon, when emperor of Rome. In the time of Auguſtus, he commanded the legions in Germany, and penetrated farther into that country than any Roman had done before him. Annals, book iv. ſ. 44.

ection LXVI.

(a) There were four gates to a Roman camp. Livy ſays ſo in expreſs terms. *Ad quatuor portas exercitum inſtruxit, ut, ſigno dato, ex omnibus portubus eruptionem facerent.* The ſeveral gates were, the *prætorian*; the gate oppoſite to it, at the extremity of the camp, called the *decuman*; and two others, called the *right and left principals*, becauſe they ſtood on the right and left ſides of the camp, fronting the ſtreet called *Principia.* See Duncan's Roman Art of War.

Section LXIX.

(a) Pliny, the elegant author of the Natural Hiſtory.

Section LXX.

(a) He was uncle to Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

(b) The firſt edition of Tacitus has the river VISURGIS (the *Weſer).* This is manifeſtly an error. The march of the troops was weſtward, towards the Rhine; and the *Viſurgis* flowed at a great diſtance towards the eaſt. Lipſius ſaw the miſtake, but did not cure it. Brotier has clearly proved that *Unſingis*, now the river *Hunſe*, or *Hunſing*, near Groninguen, is the true reading.

Section

Section LXXII.

(a) The triumphal *inſignia* were, a golden crown, an ivory chair *(ſella curulis)*, an ivory ſceptre (called *ſcipio)*, and a painted robe. Livy, lib. xxx. ſ. 15.

(b) By a law of the Twelve Tables, defamatory libels were ſtrictly prohibited. We read in Aulus Gellius, lib. iii. cap. 3, that Nævius, the comic poet, was thrown into priſon for certain defamatory verſes in one of his plays. Horace ſays, the poets were by the Twelve Tables reſtrained within due bounds.

——————— Quin etiam lex,
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
Deſcribi. Vertêre modum formidine FUSTIS,
Ad benè dicendum delectandumque redacti.
EPIST. AD AUG.

Auguſtus, not ſatisfied with the penalties of the old law, revived the charge of violated majeſty, which had been invented by Sylla. Tiberius felt the laſh of ſatire, as may be ſeen in the lampoon preſerved by Suetonius (in Tib. ſ. 59). He was, therefore, willing to enforce the rule laid down by Auguſtus.

Section LXXIII.

(a) To preſerve the majeſty of the Roman people was the ſcope and ſpirit of the *Lex Majeſtatis*. Under the emperors the majeſty of the people was annihilated. Whoever was obnoxious to the prince or his favourites, was brought within the law of majeſty. Every thing was a ſtate-crime. Tiberius, we ſee, had the art to proceed, in the beginning, with ſome appearance of moderation; but the maſk ſoon fell off, and the trade of a public accuſer became the ſcourge of ſociety. It went on with rapid ſucceſs in the reign of Caligula, of Claudius, and Nero. It was ſuppreſſed under Titus (ſee Suetonius, in Tit. ſ. 8), and again blazed out under Domitian. Suet. ſ. 10 and 11.

Section LXXIV.

(a) The advocates ſubſcribed their names to the accuſation drawn

up in form. Cicero, in the Oration concerning the Proſecution of Verres, called DIVINATIO, deſcribes an accuſer ſupported by a number of advocates, whom he calls ſubſcribers: *Venit paratus cum ſubſcriptoribus exercitatis et diſertis.* Hiſpo, it ſeems, was the firſt of that vile crew, who lived and flouriſhed by the deſtruction of their fellow citizens. A ſpecimen of his eloquence may be ſeen in the CONTROVERSIÆ of Seneca.

(b) Suetonius ſays, a perſon, whom he does not name, was condemned by the ſenate for taking the head from a ſtatue of Auguſtus, and placing another in its room. Life of Tiberius, ſ. 58. As Granius Marcellus was acquitted, what Suetonius ſays moſt probably relates to ſome other perſon.

(c) The emperor frequently gave his opinion and his vote in the ſenate. Tiberius, in the ſequel, will be frequently found taking a part in the debates. From the queſtion put to him, it ſhould ſeem that he might give his voice firſt or laſt, as he ſhould think proper; but the ſecret of ſecuring a majority by private influence was, probably, ſoon diſcovered. To decide under the ſanction of an oath was a cuſtom known to the ſenate during the republic. See a diſſertation, entitled, THE ROMAN EMPEROR IN THE SENATE, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxvii. 4to edit.

(d) For the recovery of money obtained by peculation, or other improper means, there was an eſtabliſhed juriſdiction; and in caſe of condemnation, commiſſioners called *Reciperatores* were appointed to ſee reſtitution made.

Section LXXV.

(a) If the truth was better inveſtigated in the preſence of Tiberius, the freedom of debate was abridged, and liberty was deſtroyed. Tiberius uſed to ſay, before judgment was pronounced, "If I was to decide, it ſhould be ſo." And yet Velleius Paterculus, with his uſual adulation, admires the gravity with which Tiberius attended the trial of cauſes, not as judge, ſenator, or prince, but as a private citizen. See Velleius, lib. ii. ſ. 129.

Section

Section LXXVI.

(a) The reaſon of this refuſal ſeems to be explained by Suetonius. Tiberius, he ſays, was looſe and careleſs in matters of religion, being early addicted to judicial aſtrology, and fully perſuaded that all things were governed by fate. *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicæ, perſuaſioniſque plenus, cuncta fato regi.* In Tib. ſ. 69.

(b) Auguſtus divided the Roman provinces between himſelf and the ſenate. Thoſe which he retained in his own hands, were adminiſtered by governors of his own choice, called *imperial procurators.* The Senatorian provinces were governed by proconſuls, appointed for a year only. See Life of Agricola, ſ. iv. note *(b)*.

Section LXXVII.

(a) Auguſtus was fond of the Circenſian games, and with great liberality rewarded the beſt performers. He took from the magiſtrates the power of correcting the ſtage players, which by an ancient law was left to their diſcretion. See Suetonius, in Aug. ſ. 45.

(b) The money laid out on plays and players was called LUCAR, becauſe it aroſe from the annual produce of certain woods and groves (LUCI) in the neighbourhood of Rome. Plutarch, Roman Queſtions.

Section LXXVIII.

(a) Auguſtus fixed the rate of the ſoldiers pay throughout all the armies of the empire; and, that a fund might be always ready for that purpoſe, he eſtabliſhed a military exchequer, and certain taxes, which were to be paid into that office. See Suetonius, Life of Auguſtus, ſ. 49. Tiberius afterwards changed this tax to the two hundredth penny. Annals, book ii. ſ. 42.

NOTES

ON THE

SECOND BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) THE Parthian kings were called ARSACIDÆ, from ARSACES, the founder of the monarchy, A. U. C. 498; before the Chriſtian æra 256. The curious may ſee, in Brotier's edition of Tacitus, a Genealogical Table of all the deſcendants of Arſaces, in regular ſucceſſion, down to Artabanus III. the laſt Parthian monarch, who was conquered by the Perſians, and put to death A. U. C. 986; of the Chriſtian æra 233. Orodes was the king in whoſe reign Craſſus and eleven legions were maſſacred, A. U. C. 701. Juſtin, lib. xlii. ſection 4. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 2.

(*b*) Phraates IV. was the ſon of Orodes. He defeated Marc Antony and ſixteen legions under his command, A. U. C. 718. Juſtin, lib. xlii. f. 5. Plutarch, Life of Antony.

Section II.

(*a*) The original ſays, *Cæſar thought it magnificent*; but, for the ſake of perſpicuity, Auguſtus is mentioned in the tranſlation. The Parthian ambaſſadors arrived at Rome A. U. C. 758. See Suetonius, in Tib. f. 16.

(*b*) The Romans were obliged to be always on their guard againſt the fraud and pilfering genius of their ſlaves. They locked up their

valuable utenſils with care, and affixed their ſeals to their bottles, to ſecure their wine from depredation. Cicero ſays, his mother was uſed to ſeal even the empty bottles, that the ſlaves, to favour their fraud, might not pretend that their maſter had left a greater number of empty bottles. *Sicut olim matrem noſtram făcere memini, quæ lagenas etiam inanes obſignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquæ fuiſſe, quæ furtim eſſent exſiccatæ.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. xvi. epiſt. 26. Horace praiſes the maſter who could, with temper, ſee the ſeal of his bottle broken by his ſlaves:

Et ſigno læſo non inſanire lagenæ.

Lib. ii. epiſt. ii. ver. 134.

Perſius repreſents a miſer, anxious about his vapid wine, and ſmelling at the ſeal:

Et ſignum in vapidâ naſo tetigiſſe lagenâ.

SAT. vi. ver. 17.

The new married man gave a ſeal to his bride, to ſhew that he committed the houſe affairs to her management.

Section III.

(*a*) Vonones, the ſon of Phraates, was invited by the Parthians to the throne of his anceſtors, A. U. C. 752. He was afterwards obliged to fly to Armenia. The kings of that country may be ſeen in a regular line of ſucceſſion; Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 365, 4to. edit. Artaxias was the firſt monarch, A. U. C. 565. Artaxias II. the prince mentioned in the text, mounted the throne A. U. C. 734; his reign was ſhort. In that very year Tigranes, under the conduct of Tiberius, was placed by order of Auguſtus on the throne of Armenia. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 94.

(*b*) Intermarriages between brothers and ſiſters were allowed by the cuſtom of Ægypt, and the eaſtern nations. Cleopatra married her brother Ptolemy; and accordingly Cæſar, having ended the Alexandrian war, appointed brother and ſiſter kings of the country. *Reges conſtituit.* De Bell. Alexand. ſ. xxxiii. Livy, in like manner, calls Ptolemy and Cleopatra kings of Ægypt. Freinſhemius ſays, that the wife of Darius, who was taken priſoner by Alexander, was alſo ſiſter to her huſband.

(*c*) Artavaſdes

(*c*) Artavaſdes was raiſed by Auguſtus to the throne of Armenia A. U. C. 748; and depoſed by the people in the year of Rome 752.

Section IV.

(*a*) Ariobarzanes was made king of Armenia A. U. C. 755, when Caius, the ſon of Agrippa, adopted by Auguſtus into the family of the Cæſars, commanded the army in the eaſt.

(*b*) Vonones, ſon of Phraates IV. ſucceeded queen Erato, who reigned a ſhort time. He was himſelf expelled, as here related by Tacitus. Zeno ſucceeded, and was placed on the throne by Germanicus, A. U. C. 771. This book, ſ. lvi.

Section VI.

(*a*) The iſle of Batavia is rendered for ever famous by the enterpriſing ſpirit of Civilis, the warlike chief, whoſe brave exploits againſt the Romans are related in the fourth book of the Hiſtory. For a further deſcription of Batavia, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxix. note (*a*).

Section VII.

(*a*) The equeſtrian games, in honour of the dead, are deſcribed by Virgil:

Ter circum accenſos, cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrêre rogos; ter mœſtum funeris ignem
Luſtravêre in equis, ululatuſque ore dedêre.

ÆNEID. lib. xi. ver. 188.

Statius, in his Thebaid, has given a deſcription more at length. See book vi. ver. 313. Druſus, after many ſignal victories in Germany, died there in the ſummer camp, which was, for that reaſon, called the *wicked camp*. His remains were buried at Rome, in the field of Mars. The ſoldiers raiſed a monument to his memory, and went annually round the place in a funeral proceſſion. Suet. in Claudio, ſ. i.

Section VIII.

(*a*) The canal of Druſus, Brotier ſays, was between *Iſelſort* and *Doeſbourg*, from the Rhine to the river *Sala*, now the *Iſſel*.

(*b*) This

(*b*) This canal, according to Grotius, formed a third branch of the Rhine. It diſcharged itſelf into the Iſſel, and through that channel into the lakes, on the borders of which the Friſians inhabited, where it took the name of Flevus, and emptied itſelf into the ſea. The lakes are now loſt in the *Zuiderzee*. See Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxix. note (*a*).

(*c*) The ſtation on the eaſtern bank of the river is now called *Weſter-Emden*. Germanicus was going to invade the Chaucians, who dwelt on the weſtern ſide of the river, and he landed his men on the oppoſite bank.

Section IX.

(*a*) Theſe military honours have been mentioned before. See book i. ſ. 72.

Section XI.

(*a*) The word in the original is *primipilaris*. Gordon calls him lieutenant-colonel. It means one of the principal centurions.

Section XII.

(*a*) For the Hercules of the Germans, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. ii. note (*l*).

Section XIII.

(*a*) It has been obſerved, book i. ſ. vii. note (*c*), that the general's tent was called the *prætorium*. It was a large ſquare, with a flag in the middle, about an hundred feet diſtant from each of the ſides. Near the tent were erected the tribunal for diſpenſing juſtice, and a kind of temple in which ſacrifices were offered. Near the temple there was a private gate into the camp called the *augural gate*.

(*b*) The Romans divided the night into four watches. Each watch was on duty three hours, and then relieved by the next in turn. The third watch began about the modern twelve at night.

Section XVI.

(*a*) La Bletterie ſays, he was told by military men, that the *Idiſtaviſian plain* is the place now called *Haſtenbeck*, near *Hamelen*, on the other ſide of

of the *Weſer* (VISURGIS), where Marſhal *D'Eſtrées* obtained a victory in the year 1757. He adds that D'Anville, the celebrated geographer, aſſured him that there could be no doubt of the fact.

(b) The foreſt ſacred to Hercules. See this book, ſ. xii.

(c) Brotier is of opinion that theſe were the hills of *Luerberg* and *Neſſelberg*.

Section XVIII.

(a) It appears, in ſection xxiii. of this book, that the battle was fought in July, or the beginning of Auguſt, *adultâ jam æſtate*. If ſo, the *fifth hour* nearly agrees with our nine in the morning.

(b) In the time of the republic, the title of *imperator* was given by the ſoldiers in the field of battle to the commander in chief. The cuſtom ceaſed under Auguſtus, who annexed the title to the imperial dignity, the prince being then *generaliſſimo* of all the armies of the empire. The name of *imperator*, it is true, was afterwards given to the general who gained a victory; but that was not done without the ſpecial permiſſion of the prince. The ſame rule was obſerved under the following emperors; and, accordingly, we find that Tiberius was ſaluted *imperator*; but the ſoldiers did not preſume to do that honour to Germanicus.

Section XIX.

(a) The field of battle choſen by the Germans is ſuppoſed to be near *Minden*, on the right hand ſide of the *Weſer*, and the wood is now the foreſt of *Schaumburger*.

Section XXIII.

(a) This was about the time of the autumnal equinox.

Section XXIV.

(a) The German and the Britiſh coaſts.

(b) The mouth of the Viſurgis, or the *Weſer*.

Section XXV.

(a) The more the Romans valued their eagles, the Germans in proportion were eager to keep the military gods of the legions in ſafe cuſtody.

cuſtody. The legions under Varus had three eagles. One, according to Florus, book iv. cap. 12, was thrown into a deep moraſs, by a Roman ſoldier, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Stertinius recovered a ſecond, as Tacitus relates, book i. ſ. 60. The third, we find, was buried in a wood, now called the foreſt of *Teuteberg*.

Section XXVI.

(a) The *Sicambri* dwelt between the river Luppia (now the *Lippe*) and the Cattians, who inhabited the territory of *Heſſe*. Being conquered by Tiberius, in the reign of Auguſtus, they were tranſplanted to the Gallic ſide of the Rhine. We find them mentioned by Horace:

Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compoſitis venerantur armis.

Lib. iv. ode 14.

(b) Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanians, and part of the Suevian nation, who dwelt between the Elbe (*Albis*) and the *Viſtula*, drove the Boians out of the diſtrict called, after their name, *Boiohemum*, and made himſelf king of the conquered country. See Manners of the Germans, ſection xlii. note *(c)*, and this book, ſection xlv. note *(b)*.

Section XXVII.

(a) For Scribonia, ſee Genealogical Table, No. 45.

(b) Caius and Lucius, the ſons of Agrippa, adopted by Auguſtus into the Cæſarean family. Genealogical Table, No. 48 and 49.

(c) It was by luxury, and the extravagance that occaſioned an immenſe load of debt, that Julius Cæſar advanced himſelf to the ſupreme power.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Veſcularius was the tool of power, and flouriſhed by his trade, till Tiberius ordered him to be put to death. Annals, vi. ſ. 10.

Section XXIX.

(a) The accuſed always appeared in a mourning habit, in order to excite compaſſion.

(b) The charge againſt him, we are told in the next ſection, was too extravagant. It ſeems, however, that Tiberius lived in dread of him. Suetonius ſays, Libo was actually engaged in a conſpiracy; and that Tiberius, harbouring dark ſuſpicion, contrived at a ſacrifice, when Libo attended, to put into his hand a knife made of lead, inſtead of the uſual inſtrument. Suet. in Tib. f. 25.

Section XXX.

(a) Dio Caſſius ſays, that Auguſtus was the author of this ſubtle device; but, as he does not tell upon what occaſion, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Tacitus was better informed. We learn from Cicero, that the old law, which repelled the ſlave from being a witneſs againſt his maſter, made the caſe of inceſt an exception to the general rule. *De ſervis nulla queſtio eſt in dominum niſi de inceſtu, ut fuit in Clodium.* Cicero, pro Milone. By the Roman law, a freeman could not be put to the torture. For that reaſon, the party accuſed, in order to ſuppreſs the truth, took care, in time, to give the ſlaves their freedom. To prevent that evaſion of public juſtice in the caſe of adultery, Auguſtus provided by the *Lex Julia*, that the ſlaves of the wife accuſed of adultery ſhould not be manumitted before the expiration of ſixty days, during which time they were liable to be put to the torture.

Section XXXI.

(a) Seneca ſays, Libo was a young man, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his folly than by his illuſtrious birth; mad enough to form ſchemes of ambition too high for any man in that conjuncture, and for himſelf impracticable at any time. Being conveyed from the ſenate in a litter to his own houſe, he conſulted his friends, whether he ſhould diſpatch himſelf. His aunt Scribonia (formerly the wife of Auguſtus) aſked him, Why will you do another man's buſineſs? Her queſtion made no impreſſion. He put an end to his days. Seneca, epiſt. lxx.

Section XXXII.

(a) For more of Cotta Meſſalinus, ſee Annals, book iv. f. 20. He was ſon to Meſſala the celebrated orator.

(b) The

(*b*) The Chaldæan magicians, and the profeſſors of judicial aſtrology, willing to be deemed men of real ſcience, called themſelves mathematicians; and that name frequently occurs in Tacitus. The decree made on this occaſion was not a new regulation, but a revival of ancient laws.

(*c*) The ancient uſage, *more majorum*, is explained by Suetonius. The cuſtom he ſays, was to ſtrip the criminal ſtark naked, and laſh him to death, with his head faſtened within a forked ſtake. Suet. in Nerone, ſ. 49.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) The original has *veſtis ſerica*, which is tranſlated, *ſilk* apparel. Lipſius makes a diſtinction between the *ſerica* and *bombycina*. The former, he contends, was a texture of cotton that grew ſpontaneouſly on the trees in the country of the *Seres*; a people, according to Pomponius Mela, ſituated between India and the *Sinæ*, or the *Chineſe*. The *bombycina veſtis*, he ſays, was the produce of China, imported from the Perſian merchants, before the Romans heard of ſo curious an animal as the ſilkworm. But can it be ſuppoſed that a mere cotton manufacture could provoke the cenſure of the ſenate? *Ne veſtis ſerica viros fœdaret.* It is more probable, that the ſilk of China was conveyed to Rome through the hands of the Seres, the Indians, and Perſians, and then was found to be a dreſs too effeminate for the men. This opinion ſeems to be confirmed by Seneca, who mentions the *ſerica veſtis*. If, ſays he, that can be called a dreſs which does not anſwer the purpoſes of modeſty: a woman clad in that attire cannot ſafely ſwear that ſhe is not naked. The finery is imported, at a vaſt expence, from nations unknown; and now the women do not exhibit more to their adulterers, in their private apartments, than they do to every eye in public. *Video ſericas veſtes, ſi veſtes vocandæ ſunt, in quibus nihil eſt quo defendi aut corpus, aut denique pudor poſſit; quibus ſumptis, mulier parum liquido nudam ſe non eſſe jurabit. Hæc ingenti ſummâ ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accerſuntur, ut matronæ noſtræ ne adulteris quidem plus ſui in cubiculo quam in publico oſtendant.* De Benef. lib. vii. ſ. 9.

(*b*) The qualification of a Roman knight was four hundred thouſand ſeſterces; that of a ſenator, in the time of the republic, eight

hundred thouſand; and under the emperors, twelve hundred thouſand. Suet. in Aug. ſ. 41.

(*c*) The cenſor exerciſed his authority in the courſe of every fifth year. See what Tiberius ſays on the ſubject of luxury, book iii. ſ. 53 and 54.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) The original has, *Hactenus indulgêre matri civile ratus:* Gordon tranſlates it, *he promiſed in civility to his mother.* The meaning is, to indulge his mother ſo far, he thought would be no more than the exerciſe of a civil right.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) For more of Cneius Piſo, ſee this book, ſ. xliii.

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) It was the policy of the court to make all favours to the army iſſue immediately from the prince, as from the fountain of honours and rewards. Another rule was, to make new friends, by keeping men in expectation of preferment at the end of every year.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) Hortenſius, the great orator, and rival of Cicero, is ſaid by the elder Pliny to have been a man of unbounded expence. He gave an enormous ſum for a ſet of pictures of the Argonautic expedition, and placed them in a ſuperb gallery, which he built for the purpoſe, at his country houſe. Pliny, lib. xxxv. ſ. 11. No wonder, ſays Brotier, that his deſcendants were left in a ſtate of indigence.

Section XLI.

(*a*) The public treaſure (*ærarium*) was kept in the temple of Saturn. See Cicero to Atticus, book vii. epiſt. 20. Lucan deſcribes Metellus the tribune defending the doors of the temple againſt Julius Cæſar, who, notwithſtanding, entered the place and ſeized the accumulated wealth of ages. Pharſalia, lib. iii. ver. 155.

(*b*) The reaſon why a ſmall village was honoured with a ſtatue of Auguſtus, does not appear.

(*c*) The

(*c*) The five children of Germanicus were, Nero and Druſus, whom we ſhall ſee cruelly murdered by Tiberius; Caligula, who was afterwards emperor; Agrippina, the mother of the emperor Nero; and Druſilla. Julia, his laſt child, was born afterwards in the iſle of Leſbos. This book, f. 54.

(*d*) The young Marcellus, who was married to Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 18.

Section XLII.

(*a*) The value of three hundred ſeſterces to each man, Gordon ſays in a note on this paſſage, was ſeven crowns and a half. Others compute it differently. *Non noſtrum tantas componere lites.*

(*b*) It ſeems to be agreed among the commentators, that Archelaus was under conſiderable obligations to Tiberius, who had pleaded his cauſe in the reign of Auguſtus. Suet. in Tib. f. 8. The curious will find this matter fully diſcuſſed in Bayle's Dictionary, article Archelaüs.

(*c*) He was moſt probably charged with a deſign to render himſelf independent of the empire. To prove this, Dio Caſſius ſays, a witneſs was called, who, in his zeal againſt the prince, proved too much. He depoſed, that Archelaüs ſaid, when he returned to his own dominions, he would ſhew Tiberius that his nerves were ſtrong and firm. This evidence aſtoniſhed the fathers; they knew that Archelaüs was diſabled by the gout, and ſaw him, in a ſtate of decrepitude, brought before them in a litter. The whole aſſembly burſt into a fit of laughter. The prince eſcaped a ſentence of condemnation, but died afterwards in the manner related by Tacitus. See Dio Caſſius, book v.

(*d*) For Commagene and Cilicia, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) Aſia, Ægypt, and the provinces in Africa.

(*b*) Piſo will be ſeen, in a ſhort time, ruined by his headlong paſſions. His father was conſul A. U. C. 731; before the Chriſtian æra 23.

(*c*) Plancina was the grand-daughter of Lucius Munatius Plancus, a man diſtinguiſhed in the hiſtory of the triumvirate. In the reign of Auguſtus,

guſtus, he commanded in Gaul, and, for ſome petty exploits, obtained a triumph. He founded the city of Lyons.

(d) Antonia, daughter of Marc Antony by Octavia the ſiſter of Auguſtus, was the mother of Germanicus; conſequently Auguſtus was great-uncle to Germanicus, and Marc Antony was his grandfather. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæſars, No. 32.

(e) Atticus is well known by Cicero's Epiſtles. Pomponia, his grand-daughter, was the firſt wife of Agrippa, and mother of Vipſania Agrippina, whom Tiberius married, and divorced by order of Auguſtus. Druſus, whom Tiberius acknowledged as his ſon, was the iſſue of that marriage. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæſars, No. 69.

(f) She was ſiſter to Germanicus, and was alſo called Livilla. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 71.

Section XLIV.

(a) For the Suevians, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XLV.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Maraboduus has been mentioned, this book, ſ. xxvi. note *(b)*. To what is there ſaid it will not be amiſs to add, that he was born among the Marcomanians, and went early to Rome, where he was diſtinguiſhed by Auguſtus. Strabo, lib. vii. Endowed with great natural talents, he returned to his own country with an underſtanding above the level of Barbarians. The Marcomanians at that time inhabited an extenſive territory in the diſtrict now called *Wirtemberg*, and in part of Suabia. He ſaw the Romans encroaching every day in the Lower Germany; and the progreſs of their arms he thought would, in a little time, reduce him to the condition of a ſceptred ſlave. He removed from that dangerous neighbourhood to the Hercynian foreſt (ſee the Geographical Table), and, having expelled the Boians from the country, called *Boiohemum*, eſtabliſhed his kingdom in that region. He extended his new dominions towards the ſouth, and, by conſequence, approached to the vicinity of the Romans. Tiberius was ſent by Auguſtus to

check the progreſs of the German king, who muſt have been cruſhed by the army employed againſt him, if a ſudden revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia had not cauſed a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. Whether that inſurrection was effected by the intriguing genius of Maroboduus, cannot now be known. He offered terms of accommodation, and the politic Tiberius (as mentioned in this book, ſection xxvi.) concluded a treaty of peace. From that time Maraboduus courted the alliance of Rome, and, by conſequence, drew on himſelf the hatred of the German nations. See Cæſar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. ſ. 24 and 25. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. ſ. 109.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) The expedition of Tiberius was A. U. C. 759.

(*b*) Tiberius conſidered him as a dangerous enemy, and therefore ſent his ſon Druſus to extirpate him, not by open war, but by craft and inſidious policy. See this book, ſ. 63.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLVIII.

(*a*) Lipſius ſays, he will endeavour to take aim in the dark, and tell, as well as can be done at ſuch a diſtance of time, who this woman was. He concludes that ſhe was an enfranchiſed ſlave, and that her patron, who by law was entitled to the effects of his freedwoman dying inteſtate, not being clearly aſcertained, her property went of courſe to the *fiſcus*, or exchequer of the prince. Tiberius choſe to wave his right, and grant the whole to Lepidus, who had ſome connection with the deceaſed.

Section XLIX.

(*a*) Aulus Poſthumius was dictator A. U. C. 258.

(*b*) Duillius obtained a ſignal victory over the Carthaginian fleet, A. U. C. 494.

Section L.

(*a*) See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 22.

(*b*) The

(*b*) The law againſt adultery was called *Lex Julia*, becauſe Auguſtus, the author of it, had been adopted by Julius Cæſar. See Juſtinian's Inſtitutes, lib. iv. tit. 18. The wife, who was found guilty, forfeited half her effects, and was baniſhed to an iſland. By the old law, as ſtated by Livy, the woman convicted of a crime was delivered over to her relations to be puniſhed in private. If there was nobody to whoſe cuſtody ſhe could be committed, ſhe was puniſhed in public. *Majores damnatas cognatis tradebant, ut ipſi in privato animadverterent. Si nemo erat idoneus ſupplicii exactor, in publico animadvertebatur.* Livy, lib. xxxix.

Section LI.

(*a*) By the law called *Papia Poppæa*, the candidate who had the greateſt number of children was to be deemed duly elected. In conſequence of this law, it became the common practice of men who had no iſſue, but were determined, at all events to ſecure their election, to adopt a competent number, and, as ſoon as they obtained the government of provinces, to renounce their fictitious children. The fraud was afterwards repreſſed. See Annals, xv. ſ. 19.

Section LII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The *Mauri*, inhabitants of Mauritania, bordered on what is now called *Algiers*. See the Geographical Table.

(*c*) See the Geographical Table.

(*d*) M. Furius Camillus obtained a complete victory over the Gauls, and ſaved the city of Rome, A. U. C. 364.

Section LIII.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, Auguſtus, to perpetuate the glory of his victory at Actium, built the city of NICOPOLIS, near the Bay; eſtabliſhed quinquennial games; and, having enlarged an old temple of Apollo, adorned it with naval ſpoils, and dedicated it to Neptune and Mars. In Aug. ſ. 18.

Section LIV.

(*a*) Before the birth of Julia, Germanicus had five children, who were all exhibited to the people of Rome in their father's triumphal car. See in this book, f. 41.

(*b*) An iſland in the Ægean ſea (ſee the Geographical Table). The religious rites of the place were held in the higheſt veneration, and the initiation into the myſteries was in as high repute as thoſe of Eleuſis, called the *Eleuſinian* myſteries. Suidas ſays, it was generally believed, that ſuch as viſited Samothracia, and were initiated into the myſteries, were ſure to be protected from all future danger. Brotier thinks this might be Germanicus's reaſon for wanting to viſit that iſland.

(*c*) A town of Ionia, in Aſia, on a promontory of the Ægean ſea. Pliny the elder mentions the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, and the ſacred cave, where he, who drank from the ſpring, was inſpired with prophetic fury, but ſhortened his days. *In ſpecu lacuna eſt, cujus potu mira redduntur oracula, bibentium breviore vitâ.* Pliny, lib. ii. f. 3.

Section LV.

(*a*) The ſupreme court of judicature at Athens. It derived its name from the place where it was held, being an hill not far diſtant from the city, called ἄρειος πάγος, *Mars*'s hill. Whether firſt inſtituted by Solon, or improved by him, is not certain, nor is it agreed what number of perſons compoſed that venerable aſſembly. They heard and determined all cauſes at night, and in the dark. To laugh in their aſſembly was an unpardonable act of levity, and, by an expreſs law, no member was to be the author of a comedy. See Potter's Antiquities, vol. i. p. 101.

Section LVI.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Lipſius ſays, there had been many kings of the name of *Artaxias*, and the city was called *Artaxata* after one of them.

(*c*) This vaſt country ſubmitted to be a Roman province under Tiberius. The people of *Commagene* followed the example. Caligula

reſtored the kingdom to Antioch, ſon of the laſt king. Veſpaſian finally reduced it to the form of a province.

Section LIX.

(a) To go with the feet bare, or with ſandals that did not cover them, *nexæ ſine tegmine plantæ*, was an Ægyptian cuſtom, and from thence paſſed into Greece.

(b) Scipio's conformity to foreign manners was cenſured by Fabius Maximus, as a dangerous example, tending to corrupt the Roman diſcipline. *Ipſius enim imperatoris non Romanus modo, ſed ne militaris quidem cultus jactabatur; cum pallio, crepidiſque inambulare in Gymnaſio.* Livy, lib. xxix.

(c) To viſit *Sicily*, and the provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, was at all times permitted to the ſenators and other eminent citizens. Ægypt, by the policy of Auguſtus, was a ſequeſtered and prohibited province. The ſenate had no authority over it. The adminiſtration was altogether in the hands of the prince. Ægypt was the great corn country, from which Rome drew vaſt ſupplies, and it was thought adviſable to keep it in the hands of the emperor, among the ſecret reſources of the ſtate, *inter arcana imperii.* The mouths of the Nile, and the iſthmus of Suez, could be defended by a ſmall force.

Section LX.

(a) The Ægyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, affirmed, that the Grecian Hercules was ſeveral thouſand years poſterior to the hero of their own country. See Herodotus in Euterpe.

(b) A city in Upper Ægypt, celebrated by ancient writers for its vaſt dimenſion and an hundred gates, all long ſince laid in ruins. Juvenal ſays, ſatire xv.

Atque vetus Thebæ centum jacet obruta portis.

The place, now called *Habou*, is the conſtant reſort of travellers, who tell wonders of Ægyptian grandeur, and the monuments of antiquity ſtill remaining.

(c) Before the invention of letters, the Ægyptians expreſſed the ideas paſſing in the mind by the figures of animals and other emblematic.

tic forms. See an Account of the Origin of Letters, Annals, book xi. ſ. 14. And ſee Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. cap. 1.

(d) Lipſius ſays, he has read nothing of this prodigious ſtrength, nor is he willing to believe it. And yet Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. relates wonders of the riches, and the armies of Seſoſtris, who extended his conqueſts over Æthiopia and Aſia, and at laſt penetrated into Thrace, where he erected a monument, with an inſcription in Ægyptian characters: "Seſoſtris, the king of kings, ſubdued this province." Pliny mentions king Rhamiſes, or Rhamſes, who reigned at the time of the ſiege of Troy. Pliny, lib. xxxvi. ſ. 8.

(e) It is to be regretted that Tacitus did not, in this place, ſtate the amount of the Parthian and the Roman revenue. For more on this head, ſee Annals, book xiii. ſ. 50 and 51, note *(a)*.

Section LXI.

(a) Strabo ſays, book xvii. that he ſaw this celebrated ſtatue, and a little after ſun-riſe heard the ſound. It is probable, therefore, that there was ſome contrivance or deception. Juvenal mentions it in his xvth ſatire, ver. 5.

Dimidio magicæ reſonant ubi Memnone chordæ.

Doctor Akenſide has deſcribed it in the Pleaſures of Imagination:

As Memnon's marble harp, renown'd of old
By fabling Nilus, to the quiv'ring touch
Of Titan's ray, with each repulſive ſtring
Conſenting, ſounded through the warbling air
Unbidden ſtrains, &c.

(b) The lake *Mareotis*, which looks like a great ſea to the ſouth of Alexandria. Several channels are cut to receive the overflowings of the Nile. The wine of the adjoining territory is called *Mareoticum* by Virgil and Horace. There is another lake (Mæris, or Mæridos) now called Lake *Bathea*, in which, Brotier ſays, the remains of ancient pyramids are often diſcovered.

(c) Theſe reſervoirs, with a number of ſubterraneous caves, which

are ſo many receptacles for the waters of the Nile, are deſcribed by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxii. cap. 15.

(d) Elephantinè is an iſland in the Nile, in the Higher Ægypt, towards the borders of Æthiopia, not far from the town of *Syenè*, which lies ſtill more to the ſouth. Strabo ſays, the Romans had a garriſon at *Syenè*, and there Tacitus places the boundary of the Roman empire in the reign of Tiberius and the following emperors, as low down as Trajan, whoſe enterpriſing ſpirit forgot the maxims of Auguſtus, and extended his conqueſts as far as the Red Sea. See Annals, book i. ſ. 11, note *(b)*; and Annals, book iv. ſ. 5.

Section LXII.

(a) For the Gothones, ſee the Geographical Table; and alſo the Manners of the Germans, ſ. xliii. note *(b)*.

(b) There were no regular towns in Germany. When the word *civitas* occurs in the Latin hiſtorians, it generally means a people, or a ſtate, not what is now called a city. Maroboduus, however, like our ancient Barons, had his caſtle, or palace. Lipſius ſays, after Strabo, that it was called *Bovieſmum*, in the Hercynian foreſt. Brotier and others are of opinion that it was near the city of *Prague*.

Section LXIII.

(a) Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded Italy A. U. C. 476; before the Chriſtian æra 278. Antiochus III. king of Syria, was defeated by Lucius Scipio, A. U. C. 564. Livy, lib. xxxvii. ſ. 45.

Section LXIV.

(a) Ovid has confirmed the character given by Tacitus of this prince. His ninth elegy, *De Ponto*, is addreſſed to Cotys, praying a ſafe retreat in his dominions. He ſays, he has ſeen verſes by Cotys, and one poet owes protection to another.

Regia progenies, cui nobilitatis origo
Nomen in Eumolpi pervenit uſque, COTY!

Fama loquax veſtras ſi jam pervenit ad aures,
Me tibi finitimi parte jacere ſoli;
Supplicis exaudi, juvenum mitiſſime, vocem;
Quamque potes profugo (nam potes) affer opem.
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
Ejuſdem ſacri cultor, uterque ſumus.
Ad vatem vates orantia brachia tendo,
Terra ſit exiliis ut tua fida meis.

DE PONTO, epiſt. ix.

Section LXVI.

(a) During the adminiſtration of Pomponius Flaccus, Ovid ſays he lived in ſecurity on the banks of the *Iſter*.

Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo FLACCUS, et illo
Ripa ferox Iſtri ſub duce tuta fuit.

DE PONTO, lib. ix. epiſt. 9.

Section LXVII.

(a) Ptolemy Philopater died A. U. C. 550. His ſon was an infant about five years old. The people of Alexandria craved the protection of Rome, and the ſenate ſent Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, then chief pontiff, and a man of ſtrict integrity, to act as guardian to the young king during his minority. Juſtin, lib. xxx. Valerius Maximus, lib. xii.

Section LXVIII.

(a) Remmius is called a *reſumed* veteran. The original has *evocatus*, which was the word for a veteran, who had quitted the ſervice and returned to it again. See an account of the death of Vonones. Suet. in Tib. ſ. 49.

Section LXIX.

(a) Dio Caſſius gives the ſame account.

Section LXXI.

(a) Tiberius was his father by adoption; Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, was of courſe his brother.

(b) The malice of Livia, and Plancina, Piſo's wife.

Section

Section LXXII.

(a) See the character of Germanicus in Suetonius, Life of Calig. ſ. 3.

Section LXXIII.

(a) The family images were left at Rome.

(b) Suetonius ſtates this iniquity of magic ſpells and imprecations as a fact. Livid ſpots, he ſays, appeared all over the body; and when it was committed to the flames, the heart remained entire, being, according to the general opinion, proof againſt fire, when tainted with poiſon. Suet. in Calig. ſ. 1. La Bletterie, in his note on this paſſage, ſays he has been told by Engliſh gentlemen, that the heart of Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was, in like manner, ſpared by the flames; but, if the fact were ſo, he is not willing to attribute it to the operation of poiſon, ſince it is not probable that Queen Mary, who ordered that prelate to be burnt at Oxford, poiſoned him before he was publicly executed.

Section LXXIV.

(a) Publius Vitellius, uncle to Vitellius the emperor. See Annals, book i. ſ. 70.

Section LXXXII.

(a) The public demonſtrations of joy were ſo loud and violent, that Tiberius was wakened in the night, and had the mortification of hearing the people ſing, Rome is ſafe, our country is ſafe, Germanicus is ſafe. *Salva Roma, ſalva patria, ſalvus eſt Germanicus.* Suet. in Calig. ſ. 6.

Section LXXXIII.

(a) The Salian prieſts, called *Salii* from *ſalire*, were inſtituted by Numa. They were twelve in number; all dedicated to the worſhip of MARS, the God of War, whom they celebrated, with ſong and dance, in a ſolemn proceſſion through the ſtreets of Rome. See Livy, lib. i. ſ. 20. Their hymns were at firſt in honour of the gods; but we find that the ambition of men ſoon aſpired to have their names inſerted in the *Carmen Saliare.* See Plutarch in the Life of Numa. To intermix the name of any man with the Gods, was a kind of

APOTHEOSIS, and that honour was what the ſenate intended for Germanicus. As to the curule chair, that diſtinction, which was at firſt granted to the living only, became in time a monument to the memory of departed virtue.

(b) Pliny the elder ſays, that the images of eminent men were repreſented on the ſhield which they had been uſed to wear; and thence the images in honour of their memory were uſually called SHIELDS. Pliny, lib. xxxv. ſ. 3. Why the ſhield of Germanicus was to be placed among the orators, we learn from Suetonius, who ſays that Germanicus, among other works of genius, left Greek comedies written by himſelf. See Life of Caligula, ſ. iii. Ovid dedicated his FASTI to Germanicus, whom he celebrates as an orator and a poet:

Quæ ſit enim culti facundia ſenſimus oris,
Civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis.
Scimus et, ad noſtras cum ſe tulit impetus artes,
Ingenii currant flumina quanta tui.

FAST. lib. i. ver. 21.

Section LXXXV.

(a) Women of inferior rank were allowed, in ancient times, to exempt themſelves from the penalties of the law, by entering themſelves as proſtitutes in the regiſter of the Ædiles. Suetonius ſays it began in the reign of Tiberius; but, if we believe Tacitus, the meaning muſt be, that the cuſtom was then, for the firſt time, adopted by women of illuſtrious birth.

(b) By the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis*, ſixty days from the commiſſion of the crime were allowed to the huſband to prepare for the proſecution.

(c) Tacitus ſeems to confound the Ægyptian and Jewiſh religion; and, indeed, it does not appear in his account of the Jewiſh nation (Hiſt. book v.), that he ever made it his buſineſs to inveſtigate the hiſtory of that people. For the proceedings againſt the Jews and Ægyptians, ſee Suetonius in Tib. ſ. 36.

Section LXXXVII.

(a) Gordon calls it fourteen-pence a meaſure. Whether his calculation

culation be right, the curious in ſuch matters will judge for themſelves.

(b) The word *Dominus* implied at firſt the maſter of ſlaves. Tiberius knew how to maſk his arbitrary power under the mild, but deceitful, import of republican names. He was uſed to ſay, "I am the "general of the army, the firſt of ſenators, and lord and maſter of "my ſlaves only." In ſome time after, when the fathers expreſſed an inclination to give the name of Tiberius to the month of November, "What will you do, ſaid he, when you have a thirteenth emperor?" A collection of the popular maxims of deſpotic princes would form a curious book of royal apothegms. Notwithſtanding the artful refuſal of Tiberius, the word *Dominus* grew into uſe as a term of reſpect to a ſuperior. Seneca ſays, ad Lucilium, when we meet a perſon whoſe name we do not remember, we ſalute him by the title of *Dominus. Obvios, ſi nomen non ſuccurrit, Dominos ſalutamus.* Martial, in the time of Domitian, calls the edict of the emperor, the edict of our Lord, our Maſter, our God. *Edictum Domini, Deique noſtri*, lib. v. epig. 8. Adulation continued to offer incenſe; and the word which Tiberius held to be applicable only to the owner of domeſtic ſlaves, was, by common conſent, transferred to the emperors. Of this we have a remarkable proof in the epiſtles of the younger Pliny. The tenth book is a collection of his letters to Trajan, and almoſt every one of them runs in the ſtyle of a man addreſſing his *Lord and Maſter.* DOMINE is repeated, till the reader, who knows the epiſtolary ſtyle of the ancient Romans, turns from it with diſguſt.

Section LXXXVIII.

(a) This war with Pyrrhus was A. U. C. 476. See Valerius Maximus, lib. vi. cap. 5. The letter of Fabricius the conſul, to Pyrrhus, warning him againſt ſo foul a treachery, is recorded by Plutarch in the Life of Pyrrhus.

(b) We are told by Tacitus, that old ſongs and ballads were the only memorials of antiquity among the Germans; and their war ſong, when ruſhing to battle, was always a commemoration of ſome ancient

hero. Poets, who ſung the praiſes of deceaſed warriors, at the tables of kings, are often mentioned by Homer. The Scandinavians had their *ſcalds*; the Gauls and Germans, their bards; the ſavages of America, their rude verſes; and all thoſe different nations had their "youths, "who died, to be by poets ſung." See Manners of the Germans, ſ. ii. note (*e*); and ſ. iii. note (*a*).

NOTES

ON THE

THIRD BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) THE two children of Germanicus probably were, Caligula, who, according to Suetonius, accompanied his father into the eaſt; and Julia, who was born in the iſle of Leſbos. See book ii. ſ. 54.

Section II.

(*a*) Theſe were Nero and Druſus, Agrippina and Druſilla. But it is not probable that the two daughters went ſo far to meet their father's funeral.

Section III.

(*a*) For the character of Antonia, ſee Supplement to book v. ſ. 27; and ſee the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 42.

Section VI.

(*a*) The Romans called themſelves the maſters of the world, and wherever their legions could penetrate, the nations owned their ſuperiority. The ambaſſadors ſent to Rome by Pyrrhus being aſked, at their return, what they thought of the Romans? The city, they ſaid, appeared to be a temple, and the ſenate a convention of kings. Florus, lib. i. cap. 18. Cicero, in the Oration *pro Domo ſuâ*, calls the Roman people the maſters of kings, the conquerors and commanders of all other

other nations. *Ille, ille populus eſt dominus regum, victor atque imperator omnium gentium.*

(b) Julia was the daughter of Julius Cæſar by his wife Cornelia. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 6.

(c) The *Megaleſian* games were ſo called from μεγαλη θεα, the great goddeſs, or *magna mater*. They were celebrated in the month of April, and laſted ſeven days. Germanicus died in the preceding month of November. The grief of the people at Rome was ſo violent, that even the *Saturnalian* games, which were towards the end of December, could not put a ſtop to the general ſorrow. See Suet. in Calig. ſ. 6. The mourning, we find from Tacitus, continued to the month of April following.

Section IX.

(a) Now the Gulf of Venice.

Section X.

(a) For an account of theſe ſuſpicions, ſee Suetonius in Tib. ſ. 52.

Section XIV.

(a) The *Gemoniæ Scalæ* were a flight of ſteps at the bottom of the Capitoline Hill, where the bodies of malefactors were expoſed, and then dragged by a hook fixed in the throat, and thrown into the Tiber.

Section XVI.

(a) Piſo had been joint conſul with Auguſtus A. U. C. 731, and afterwards with Tiberius, A. U. 747.

Section XVII.

(a) Tiberius was willing to make the apology of a young man. He could not mean, in the latitude here laid down, that the ſon is bound in all caſes to obey the father's orders. Quintilian has well obſerved, that parents are not to be obeyed in every thing. To receive benefits, he adds, would be highly dangerous, if by obligations men were bound to every kind of ſervice. They would in that caſe be in the worſt ſtate of thraldom. *Non omnia præſtanda parentibus. Alioquin nihil*

nihil eſt perniciosius acceptis beneficiis, ſi in omnem nos obligant ſervitutem. See Grotius De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 26.

(b) In the time of the republic, the conſul, who preſided in the ſenate, put the queſtion to the fathers in every debate; but he neither called upon his colleague, nor the prætors, nor any of the acting magiſtrates. He addreſſed himſelf to the prince of the ſenate, the conſuls elect, and after them to the members of conſular rank, and in regular ſucceſſion to the reſt of the ſenate. The reaſon of this arrangement ſeems to have been an idea that the magiſtrates, if they took the lead, would have too much influence on the reſt of the aſſembly. After the change of government, the ſame practice continued, with this difference; if the emperor attended the debates in the ſenate, he, of courſe, was the ſupreme magiſtrate, and in that caſe it was his to collect the voices. He began with the conſuls actually in office, and proceeded to the other magiſtrates according to their rank. See a Diſſertation, entitled, "The Roman Emperor in the Senate;" Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxvii. 4to edit.

Section XVIII.

(a) Julius Antonius was ſon to Antony the triumvir. He was found guilty of adultery with Julia the daughter of Auguſtus, and puniſhed with death. Annals, book iv. ſ. 44.

(b) It is unneceſſary to repeat, that Claudius was brother to Germanicus. He was at this time neglected and deſpiſed. See Suet. in Claud. ſ. 2; and ſee Supplement to book v. ſ. 24.

Section XIX.

(a) She was the daughter of Agrippa, married to Tiberius, and divorced from him. See Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 69.

Section XX.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXI

(a) Appius Claudius, conſul A. U. C. 259, commanded in the war againſt

againſt the *Volſci*. The ſoldiers, regardleſs of diſcipline and ſubordination, paid no reſpect to their officers, and, in conſequence of their contumacy, ſuffered a defeat. As ſoon as they returned to their camp, Claudius puniſhed the ring-leaders with death, and decimated the reſt of his army. *Cætera multitudo, ſorte decimus quiſque, ad ſupplicium lecti.* Livy, lib. ii. ſ. 59. See alſo Polybius, book vi. cap. 2.

(*b*) A town in Numidia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Lepida's anceſtors were allied to the Æmilian family. Fauſtus Sylla, ſon of the dictator, was her father; and Pompeia, daughter of Pompey the Great, was her mother. Suetonius ſays, *Condemnatam et generoſiſſimam fœminam, Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini, conſularis prædivitis et orbi, qui dimiſſam eam matrimonio, poſt vigeſſimum annum, veneni olim in ſe comparati arguebat.* Life of Tiberius, ſ. 49.

(*b*) There were at Rome four different ways of detaining the accuſed in cuſtody: viz. the common jail; commitment to a military guard; commitment to the care of the conſuls or other magiſtrates in their own houſes, which Salluſt, in Catilinâ, ſect. xlvii. calls *liberas cuſtodias*; nd laſtly, ſureties for the perſon's appearance, which is what we call *eing out upon bail.*

Section XXIII

(*a*) The *Theatre* of Pompey, dedicated A. U. C. 699. For a further account of that magnificent ſtructure, capable, according to Pliny, lib. xxxv. ſ. 15, of holding forty thouſand perſons, ſee Annals, book xiv. ſ. 20.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Julia married to Agrippa, and their daughter Julia married to Lucius Æmilius Paulus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 46 and 52.

(*b*) Julius Antonius, for his adulterous connexion with Julia the daughter of Auguſtus, was put to death; and Silanus, for the like offence with Julia the grand-daughter, was condemned to baniſhment. For Julius Antonius, ſee Annals, book iv. ſ. 44.

Section

Section XXV.

(a) The law *Papia Poppæa* derived its name from the two conſuls who were the authors of it; namely, Marcus PAPIUS Mutilus, and Quintus POPPÆUS, A. U. C. 762; the ninth of the Chriſtian æra. Dio obſerves, that the two conſuls had neither wife nor children; and for that reaſon, a law which impoſed penalties on celibacy, and rewarded the married ſtate, was the more acceptable, becauſe diſintereſted.

(b) In the time of the republic, laws were finally paſſed by the people, who were aſked, Is it your will and order that this ſhall be a law? The queſtion was called ROGATIO. Cicero, in his Oration *pro Domo ſuâ*, gives the form of words: *Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites, ut M. Tullio aqua et ignis interdicantur*. This being the manner of enacting laws, ROGATIO and LEX became ſynonimous terms. Florus uſes ROGATIO in that ſenſe, lib. iii. ſ. 17. Julius Cæſar paſſed ſeveral laws to encourage population, but without effect.

(c) The luxury of the times occaſioned ſo much extravagance, that men did not chooſe the additional expence of rearing children. See Manners of the Germans, ſ. xviii. note *(f)*.

Section XXVI.

(a) It may be made a queſtion, whether a period of pure ſimplicity and innocence ever exiſted? Seneca expatiates in praiſe of thoſe times, epiſt. xc. and the poets have been laviſh in their deſcription of the golden age; but the hiſtory of mankind has no proofs of the fact. An ingenious writer ſays, Who were thoſe men that lived in ſo much innocence? The firſt man who was born into the world, killed the ſecond. When did the times of ſimplicity begin?

Section XXVII

(a) The two Gracchi were leaders of the popular party, in oppoſition to the ſenate and the patrician order. Tiberius Gracchus was the great factious demagogue, A. U. C. 621; his brother Caius adopted the ſame meaſures A. U. C. 633. See an account of them, Florus, lib. iii. cap. 14 and 15. See alſo the Dialogue concerning Eloquence, ſ. xviii. note *(d)*. Apuleius Saturninus endeavoured to enforce the laws

laws of the Gracchi, and was killed in the contention, A. U. C. 654. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 16.

(*b*) M. Livius Druſus was a grand corruptor in the name of the ſenate. He carried the arts of bribery beyond all former example. He died A. U. C. 663. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 17.

(*c*) Florus (lib. iii. cap. 18.) calls this the *Social War*; but as it involved all Italy, it is called by Tacitus the *Italic War*. It was in the year of Rome 663. The civil war, which followed, was between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 666. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

(*d*) Sylla uſurped the authority of dictator A. U. C. 672, and exerciſed thoſe extraordinary powers till the year 675. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21 and 23. He then abdicated the dictatorſhip, and died A. U. C. 676.

(*e*) Lepidus was for abrogating all the laws of Sylla. See Florus, lib. iii. ſ. 23.

(*f*) Sylla ſaw that the tribunes made an ill uſe of their power, and therefore reduced thoſe magiſtrates within due bounds. Pompey, in his conſulſhip, A. U. C. 684, re-eſtabliſhed the tribunitian power. Speaking of this act, Cicero ſays he was in the habit of mentioning Pompey, upon all occaſions, with the higheſt commendation; but with regard to the tribunitian power, he choſe to be ſilent. He was not willing to condemn that meaſure, and to approve was not in his power. *Pompeium noſtrum cæteris rebus omnibus ſemper ampliſſimis ſummiſque effero laudibus. De tribunitiâ poteſtate taceo; nec enim reprehendere libet, nec laudare poſſum.* Cicero De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 9. The tranſlation of what follows, it muſt be acknowledged, is not exact. The words are, *The public good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared, and new ſtatutes were enacted.* The original ſays, *Jamque non modo in commune, ſed in ſingulos homines latæ quæſtiones.* The true meaning ſeems to be, Laws were made not for the public only, but alſo with a view to individuals. The laſt was againſt the ſpirit and poſitive inſtitutions of the Roman republic. Laws reſpecting particular perſons were called *Privilegium*, from *priva lex*, a private law, which was forbidden, ſays Cicero, De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 4. by the Twelve Tables; *Privilegia ne irroganto*; and again, in the Oration *pro Domo ſuâ, Vetant leges*

ſacratæ, vetant XII Tabulæ leges privatis hominibus irrogari; id eſt enim privilegium. Cicero is more explicit and diffuſe againſt particular laws in the caſe of individuals, in the Oration PRO SEXTIO, ſ. 30. They were not unlike the *ex poſt facto* laws, and bills of attainder, which have been heard of in this country, it is to be hoped to revive no more.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) Pompey's third conſulſhip was A. U. C. 702; before the Chriſtian æra 52. One of his rules was, that no magiſtrate ſhould be governor of a province, before the end of five years after the expiration of his office; and then he took upon himſelf the government of Spain for the additional term of five years. Dio, lib. xl.

(*b*) The twenty years of civil diſtraction are to be computed from the death of Pompey, A. U. C. 706. Auguſtus was conſul for the ſixth time, A. U. C. 726; before the Chriſtian æra 28.

(*c*) Informers were encouraged, by the law *Papia Poppæa*, to hold a ſtrict watch over ſuch as lived in a ſtate of celibacy.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) Dio informs us, that while Auguſtus, after all his victories, was ſtill abſent from Rome, the ſenate, by a decree, eſtabliſhed a new magiſtracy, conſiſting of twenty, to ſuperintend the police and good government of the city. Their duty was divided into different departments: three to ſit in judgment; three to direct the coinage; four to ſuperintend the public ways; and ten to preſide in ſuch cauſes as were tried by the centumviri. The office was continued by Auguſtus, and became the previous ſtep to the higher magiſtracies. The time for entering on the quæſtorſhip was at the age of four-and-twenty; conſequently Nero, the eldeſt ſon of Germanicus, might begin his career of honours when turned of nineteen.

(*b*) Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius. He married *Livia*, otherwiſe *Livilla*, the daughter of Druſus, who was brother to Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 70 and 71.

(*c*) Claudius, afterwards emperor, was brother to Germanicus. He had

had a ſon named Druſus, who died very young. The intended marriage never took place. See the Genealogical Table, No. 102.

Section XXX.

(*a*) Salluſtius Criſpus, the miniſter privy to the death of Agrippa Poſthumus, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. ſ. 6. His gardens, and other articles of luxury, are deſcribed by Pliny, lib. vii. ſ. 16; and lib. xxxiv. ſ. 2.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) For more of Mamercus Scaurus, a man famous for his talents at the bar, but deteſted for his vicious courſe of life, ſee Annals, book vi. ſ. 29.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) It has been already mentioned that Auguſtus, having reſerved ſome provinces for his own management, reſigned the reſt to the ſenate. Aſia and Africa were in the number aſſigned to the fathers, and were always conſidered as conſular governments. Two, who had diſcharged the office of conſul, were named, and the province of each was decided by lot. That rule, however, was waved in ſudden emergencies, and a proconſul was ſent without any form of election or ballot.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) Plancina, the wife of Piſo.

(*b*) The tribunal where the conſuls ſat in judgment, was called Prætorium.

(*c*) Caius Oppius, tribune of the people A. U. C. 541, was the author of a law, by which the women were laid under ſeveral reſtrictions in the articles of dreſs and other expences. That law was repealed, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous efforts of Cato the cenſor, A. U. C. 559. See Livy, lib. xxxiv. ſ. 38. But ſtill it was thought neceſſary that the female ſex ſhould be held within due bounds, and other ſumptuary laws were enacted.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) For Corvinus Meſſala, who flouriſhed in the time of Auguſtus, ſee the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. xii. note (*e*).

(*b*) He was married to Livia, the ſiſter of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 71.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) Pliny the younger, in his panegyric on the emperor Trajan, ſays that neither the laws enacted in the conſulſhip of Voconius, nor the Julian law, conduced ſo much to enrich the exchequer of the prince and the public treaſury, as the charge of violated majeſty, too often the only charge againſt thoſe who were free from every crime. *Locuple tabant et fiſcum et ærarium non tam Voconiæ et Juliæ leges, quam majeſtatis ſingulare et unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacarent.* Pliny, in Paneg. ſ. 42.

(*b*) It is probable that Antiſtius was a Roman by birth, who had ſettled in Macedonia, and there became a man of the firſt conſequence.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) Some of the commentators will have the perſon here mentioned, to be Velleius Paterculus the hiſtorian; but the prænomen PUBLIUS ſeems to denote a different man.

Section XLI.

(*a*) Being thought dead, ſome years afterwards, and laid on his funeral pile, he waked from his lethargy, but, for want of aſſiſtance, was conſumed in the flames. Pliny, lib. vii. ſ. 52. Valerius Maximus, lib. i. cap. 8.

Section XLII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) Viſellius Varro commanded on the Lower Rhine, and Caius Silius on the Upper.

Section

Section XLV.

(a) The Gauls, under the conduct of Brennus, ſtormed the city of Rome A. U. C. 364; before the Chriſtian æra 390. Livy, lib. v. ſ. 35. They fought no leſs than thirty battles with Julius Cæſar. Brotier, in his note on this paſſage, is at great pains to retrieve the fame of the ancient Gauls, who have been, in his opinion, too much neglected, and indeed conſigned to oblivion, by the irruption of the FRANKS. But the Gauls, he ſays, were a great and powerful nation, while Rome, under Tarquinius Priſcus, was yet in its infancy; and though the name of FRANKS has been adopted by his countrymen, yet the nature of the firſt inhabitants has not been extinguiſhed. The Gallic mind, the Gallic genius, and the Gallic manners have been tranſmitted from age to age, inſomuch, that what Julius Cæſar ſaid of the people almoſt two thouſand years ago, is true at this hour. So far Brotier. Thoſe who are fond of reſearches into remote antiquity, and, as Doctor Goldſmith ſomewhere expreſſed it, who love to purſue the chaſe when the dews of the morning have paſſed away, will find in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 367, 8vo edit. an elaborate hiſtory of the ancient Gauls. But whether in the hiſtory of thoſe barbarous times, any thing can be found to equal the carnage, blood, and maſſacre, which have lately diſgraced their deſcendants, and excited the horror and indignation of all Europe, may be made a queſtion.

Section XLVIII.

(a) The ſame Quirinius who has been mentioned in this book, ſ. xxii.

Section LII.

(a) The particular inſtances of Roman luxury, and the wealth and profuſion of individuals, would lead to a long digreſſion. Apicius, and others of that claſs of epicures, are well known. Lucan has given a general account of the origin and progreſs of luxury:

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna ſubacto
Intulit, et rebus mores ceſſêre ſecundis,
Prædaque et hoſtiles luxum ſuaſere rapinæ,
Non auro tectiſve modus; menſaſque priores

Aſpernata fames; cultus geſtare decoros
Vix nuribus, rapuêre mares; fæcunda virorum
Paupertas fugitur, totoque accerſitur orbe
Quo gens quæque perit. Longos tum jungere fines
Agrorum, et duro quondam ſulcata Camilli
Vomere, et antiquos Curiorum paſſa ligones
Longa ſub ignotis extendere rura colonis.

PHARSALIA, lib. i.

Section LIII.

(*a*) Tiberius, who writes this letter to the ſenate, was ſo well known to be fond of his glaſs, that, inſtead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was called BIBERIUS CALDIUS MERO. But though he was addicted to wine, he ſhewed no diſpoſition to the prevailing luxury of the times, till his exceſſes broke out in the iſle of *Caprea*. What Tiberius ſays of the faſhionable ſtyle of dreſs, common to both ſexes, is confirmed in the paſſage above quoted from Lucan:

———— Cultus geſtare decoros
Vix nuribus, rapuêre mares.—

Horace deſcribes a Roman lady in her ſilk dreſs from the iſle of Coos, ſo thin, that it might be ſaid to be tranſparent.

———— Cois tibi pæne videre eſt,
Ut nudam.

Pliny the elder tells us, that the men in the ſummer ſeaſon did not bluſh to follow their example; and were ſo little inclined to wear the military breaſt-plate, that their very clothes were a burthen. *Non puduit has veſtes uſurpare etiam viros, levitatem propter æſtivam. In tantum a loricâ gerendâ diſceſſere mores, ut oneri ſit etiam veſtis.* Pliny, lib. xi. f. 23. See in this book, f. xxxiii. note (*a*).

Section LV.

(*a*) The battle of Actium was A. U. C. 722. Galba was murdered A. U. C. 823.

Section

Section LVI.

(*a*) Lipſius obſerves that Druſus, according to this account, was ſix-and-thirty years of age. Tiberius was born A. U. C. 712, and was inveſted with the tribunitian power by Auguſtus A. U. C. 748.

Section LVIII.

(*a*) The death of Cornelius Merula deſerves particular notice. He ſaw Marius and Cinna in poſſeſſion of Rome, and the moſt illuſtrious citizens bleeding in one general maſſacre. He abdicated his office of conſul, and, opening his veins, ſprinkled with his blood the very altar, where, in his character of prieſt of Jupiter, he had frequently offered up his prayers for the peace and happineſs of his country. With his laſt breath he poured forth his execration of Cinna, and, having invoked the vengeance of the gods on that traitor's head, cloſed a life of honour and virtue. *Merula autem, qui ſe ſub adventum Cinnæ conſulatu abdicaverat, inciſis venis ſuperfuſoque altaribus ſanguine, quos pro ſalute reipublicæ Flamen Dialis precatus erat Deos, eos in execrationem Cinnæ partiumque ejus tum precatus, optime de republicâ meritum ſpiritum reddidit.* Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 22. This was A. U. C. 667. From that time no prieſt of Jupiter was appointed till the year of Rome 743, when Auguſtus revived the office. Dio, lib. liv. The interval was a ſpace of ſeventy-ſix years.

Section LIX.

(*a*) The emperor was not only commander in chief of the armies of Rome, in his character of IMPERATOR, and the ſole director of all civil buſineſs, by his tribunitian power; but he was alſo, as high pontiff, at the head of the religion of his country.

Section LX.

(*a*) For a full account of the origin and progreſs of ſanctuaries, ſee Grotius, De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 21. See alſo Spanheim, De Uſu Numiſmatum, cap. ix.

Section LXII.

(*a*) Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus A. U. C. 564. Mithridates was driven out of Aſia by Lucius Sylla A. U. C. 670.

(*b*) The

(*b*) The Perſian monarchy was founded by Cyrus A. U. C. 195; before the Chriſtian æra 559.

(*c*) Marcus Perperna conquered Ariſtonicus, who made an irruption into Aſia A. U. C. 624. See Juſtin, lib. xxxvi. ſ. 4. Publius Servilius, in the year of Rome 679, conquered the pirates of Cilicia, and, after reducing the principal cities of their country, ſtormed the citadel called ISAUROS, and thence took the name of ISAURICUS. *Unde, conſcius ſibi magni laboris, Iſaurici cognomen adamavit.* Florus, lib. iii. ſ. 6.

(*d*) For king Aerias, ſee Hiſtory, book ii. ſ. 3.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) The *Venus Stratonicè* was ſo called after *Stratonicè*, grand-mother of *Seleucus II.* who mounted the throne of Syria A. U. C. 507. Whoever deſires to know more about the worſhip paid to this goddeſs, will find a particular account in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 413, 4to edit.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) All queſtions of war and peace, the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities and treaties of alliance, were referred to their deciſion. *Fœderum, pacis, belli, induciarum oratores feciales judiceſque ſunto.* Cicero, De Legibus, lib. ii. ſ. 9.

Section LXV.

(*a*) The original ſays, Etiam *pedarii ſenatores:* that is, the ſenators, who, when the ſenſe of the aſſembly was taken *per diſceſſionem*, i. e. *when the houſe divided*, walked over to the ſide of thoſe with whom they agreed. This was, according to Salluſt in Catil. *pedibus in ſententiam ire.* Hence the verſe of Laberius the ſatiriſt: A head without a tongue, is a pedeſtrian opinion. Caput ſine linguâ, pedaria ſententia eſt.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) Scipio Africanus accuſed Lucius Cotta A. U. C. 622. Cotta was acquitted, leſt the weight and dignity of the proſecutor ſhould be thought to influence the judges. See Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. cap. 1. Galba had been governor of a province of Spain, and was impeached

impeached by Cato the cenſor, A. U. C. 604. See Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 2; and Cicero, De Claris Orat. ſ. 23. Rutilius was a candidate for the conſulſhip againſt Marcus Scaurus, A. U. C. 645. Being diſappointed of his election, he accuſed the ſucceſsful candidate, and was, in his turn, proſecuted by Scaurus. Cicero, De Clar. Orat. ſ. xxx.

(*b*) Seneca mentions Otho and Brutidius; Controverſiæ, lib. ii. ſ. 9.

Section LXVIII.

(*a*) He was, in the time of Auguſtus, proconſul of Aſia; a man of inordinate pride, and a cruel diſpoſition. It is ſaid that three hundred men were put to death by his order in one day. Seneca, De Irâ, lib. ii. cap. 5.

(*b*) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXX.

(*a*) For more of Ateius Capito, ſee this book, ſ. lxxii.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) There had been at Rome a temple of the *Equeſtrian* Fortune, built by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in memory of a ſignal victory obtained by him in Spain. Livy, lib. xl. ſ. 40; and lib. xlii. ſ. 10.

(*b*) The objection made by Metellus, was debated with great warmth in the ſenate, and alſo before the people. See Livy, lib. xxxvii. ſ. 51.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) It was built by Æmilius Paulus, who was conſul A. U. C. 704. Cicero calls it a glorious ſtructure. *Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil glorioſius.* Ad Atticum, lib. iv. epiſt. 16.

(*b*) The public buildings erected by Taurus, Philippus, Balbus and others, are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 89; and more particularly by Suetonius, in Aug. ſ. xxix.

(*c*) Seneca ſays, with indignation, Who could bear to ſee the ſtatue of Sejanus placed over the aſhes of Pompey! a baſe perfidious ſoldier among the monuments of a great commander! *Quis non rumperetur,*

ſupra

ſupra cineres Cneii Pompeii conſtitui Sejanum, et in monumentis maximi imperatoris conſecrari perfidum militem? De Conſolat. cap. xxii.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) Spartacus kindled up the ſervile war in Italy A. U. C. 681. He gained two important victories. Being defeated in a battle with Licinius Craſſus, he died bravely ſword in hand. See the account in Florus, lib. iii. cap. 20.

(*b*) Sertorius and Mithridates, king of Pontus, joined in a league againſt the Romans, A. U. C. 680. Florus, lib. iii. ſ. 5.

Section LXXIV.

(*a*) Salluſt ſays, the Numidian huts, called *Mapalia* by the natives, were of an oblong form, with a curve on each ſide, ſomewhat reſembling a ſhip. De Bell. Jugurth. ſ. xviii.

(*b*) When titles of honour were ſuppreſſed, the incentives of valour were extinguiſhed, and military glory faded away.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Aſinius Saloninus was the ſon of Aſinius Gallus, who has been already mentioned, ſ. viii. by Vipſania Agrippina, who had been the wife of Tiberius, and was mother of his ſon Druſus; of courſe he was grandſon to Aſinius Pollio, who for his victory over the Salonii, a people of Dalmatia, was called SALONINUS. The grandſon enjoyed the title of his grandfather. He was alſo grandſon to Agrippa by his mother's ſide. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 69.

(*b*) Ateius Capito has been already mentioned in this book, ſ. lxx. He was conſul A. U. C. 759; of the Chriſtian æra 5. He ſucceeded Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius for the remainder of their year, and his name, therefore, does not appear in the *Faſti Conſules.*

(*c*) Antiſtius Labeo is mentioned with honour in ſeveral paſſages of the Digeſt. He was one of thoſe men, whoſe ſingularities are forgiven on account of their talents and their virtues. His father, an ardent

dent and zealous republican, reſolved, after the battle of Philippi, not to ſurvive the loſs of public liberty. He was diſpatched by his own command, by one of his domeſtics, whom he enfranchiſed, that he might not die by the hand of a ſlave. Appian, lib. iv. The ſon adopted the principles of his father. He thought, ſpoke, and acted, upon all occaſions, with a republican ſpirit. Auguſtus knew his character, and yet reſpected him. We are told by Pomponius, the civilian, Digeſt. 1, tit. ii. ſ. 47, that the conſulſhip for part of the year was offered to him, and rejected. It is probable, that perceiving the ſtate-craft, by which the conſular authority was abridged, and, by conſequence, impaired, Labeo diſdained to be the time-ſerving conſul of the court. Aulus Gellius (lib. xiii. cap. 12) has preſerved a fragment of a letter, in which Capito ſays of his rival, that he was a man almoſt frantic with the love of liberty. *Agitabat hominem libertas quædam nimia et vecors.* Noctes Atticæ, lib. xiii. cap. 12. The favourite at the court of Auguſtus might naturally enough pronounce that judgment. And yet we find that the obſequious Capito could, in the reign of Tiberius, imitate the blunt freedom of his rival. Being told that a word, coined by Tiberius in one of his ſpeeches, was legitimate Latin, or, if it was not, that it would ſoon become ſo: That, ſaid Capito, is falſe; for you, Cæſar, can give the freedom of the city to men, but not to words. *Certe jam mentitur, inquit Capito: Tu enim, Cæſar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes.* Suetonius, De Illuſtr. Grammat. cap. xxii.

Section LXXVI.

(*a*) Junia was the daughter of Decimus Junius Silanus by Servilia, the ſiſter of Cato of Utica. Servilia was firſt married to M. Junius Brutus, and by him was the mother of Brutus, who ſtabbed Julius Cæſar. Junia was, of courſe, niece to Cato, and half-ſiſter to Brutus. She married Caſſius, the friend of Brutus; and thus deſcended, and thus allied, the ſiſter of one conſpirator againſt Cæſar, and the widow of another, ſhe lived unmoleſted in the full enjoyment of wealth and honour, to an extreme old age. The battle of Philippi was fought A. U. C. 712. From that time to the year of Rome 775, a period of

ſixty-three years complete, Junia poſſeſſed ſplendid riches, and was buried at laſt with all the honours of a public funeral. The moderation of Auguſtus protected her, and the cruelty of Tiberius was not yet unchained.

(*b*) The conſtitution being overturned, the aſſertors of public liberty were not diſplayed; but, as Tacitus elſewhere ſays, the honour which was denied increaſed their glory. *Negatus honor gloriam intendit.* Annals, book iv. ſ. 26.

NOTES

ON THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) SEE the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Velleius Paterculus the hiſtorian, who lackeyed at the feet of Sejanus, ſays that the father was the chief of the Roman knights. Nothing more is known of him.

(*c*) There were three famous epicures of the name of Apicius: one mentioned by Athenæus; a ſecond, in the time of Auguſtus and Tiberius; and a third, in the reign of Trajan. The ſecond is the perſon here intended. Seneca ſays of him, In that city, from which the teachers of philoſophy were baniſhed, this man, profeſſing the ſcience of the kitchen, corrupted the manners of the age, by his ſkill in cookery. *Apicius noſtrâ memoriâ vixit, qui in eâ urbe, ex quâ philoſophi, ut corruptores juventutis abire juſſi ſunt, ſcientiam popinæ profeſſus, diſciplinâ ſuâ ſæculum infecit.* Seneca De Conſolatione. Finding himſelf, after a long courſe of profuſion and gluttony, much involved in debt, and, after ſatisfying all demands, not worth more than what may be called 100,000 *l.* he finiſhed his days by a doſe of poiſon. Seneca in the place above quoted. For the ſake of an anecdote, perhaps little known, it may be proper to mention, that there is extant, in the Latin language, a book, importing to be Apicius's Art of Cookery. La Bletterie relates as a certain fact, that Madam Dacier and her huſband were almoſt

killed by this book. They found in it a receipt for a particular *ragout*, and being both inclined to dine claſſically, they were almoſt poiſoned by their learned bill of fare.

(d) The pernicious conſequences which attended the riſe of Sejanus, will be ſeen in the ſequel. His ruin was equally the cauſe of public calamity; ſince Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius, while he loved or feared this favourite miniſter, reſtrained his paſſions, but afterwards broke out with unbounded fury. Annals, book vi. ſ. 51.

(e) Aſſumed and well-acted virtues are often more dangerous than the worſt vices. Addiſon's Cato ſays of Julius Cæſar,

Curſe on his virtues! they've undone his country.

Section II.

(a) The original ſays, *inter principia legionum.* The ſame expreſſion often occurs in Tacitus, and requires an explanation. Between the tents of the legions and the tribunes, a ſpace of an hundred feet in breadth was left, which formed a large ſtreet, called PRINCIPIA, that ran acroſs the whole camp, and divided it into two parts, the upper and the lower. Duncan's Cæſar, vol. i. The Roman Art of War.

Section III.

(a) Druſus, and the three ſons of Germanicus, Nero, Druſus, and Caligula.

(b) She was ſiſter to Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 71.

(c) Pliny the elder gives a dark picture of the phyſicians of his time. They had their opportunities to adminiſter poiſon, to make wills, and manage intrigues. *Quid enim venenorum fertilius? aut unde plures teſtamentorum inſidiæ? Jam vero et adulteria in principum domibus, ut Eudemi in Liviâ Druſi Cæſaris.* Lib. xxix. ſ. 8.

Section IV.

(a) He was then fourteen years of age.

(b) In the time of Tiberius, Syenè, a city ſtrongly garriſoned, at the farther extremity of Ægypt, was the boundary of the Roman empire.

pire. Trajan enlarged the limits as far as the Red Sea. See book i. ſ. xi. note (*b*); and book ii. ſ. lxi. note (*b*).

Section V.

(*a*) The two ſeas were, Mare Adriaticum, the Adriatic, now the Gulf of Venice; Mare Tyrrhenum, now the Tuſcan Sea. The former was alſo called *Mare ſuperum*; the latter *Mare inferum*. Virgil ſays,

An mare quod ſupra memorem, quodque alluit infra.

Miſenum, now *Capo di Miſeno*, was a promontory in the Tuſcan ſea; Ravenna was a port in the Adriatic. See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) In Upper and Lower Germany, according to the plan of Auguſtus. See the Manners of the Germans, ſ. i. note (*a*).

(*c*) Juba's father was king of Numidia. He attached himſelf to Pompey's party, and took a decided part againſt Julius Cæſar. Even after the death of Pompey, he ſtood at bay with Cæſar, and, at length, received a total overthrow in the battle at Thapſa. Determined, however, not to fall into Cæſar's hands, he retired with Petreius, his fellow ſufferer, and, at the cloſe of a banquet, fell a voluntary victim by the hand of a friend. His ſon Juba was led to Rome, to walk in Cæſar's triumph. He was educated at the court of Auguſtus, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his talents and his literature. Auguſtus gave him in marriage the young Cleopatra, daughter of the famous Cleopatra by Marc Antony, and ſent him (Numidia being then a Roman province) to reign in Mauritania, A. U. C. 724. For Mauritania, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*d*) Annals, book ii. ſ. 67.

(*e*) We are told by Dio, lib. lv. that the eſtabliſhment under Auguſtus was ten thouſand prætorians, divided into ten cohorts, and ſix thouſand in the city cohorts. The number, therefore, was reduced by Tiberius.

(*f*) For Etruria, Umbria, and ancient Latium, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*g*) Beſides their fleets for the ſea ſervice, the Romans had always proper armaments on the Rhine and the Danube.

Section

Section VI.

(a) The vile abuſe of the law of violated majeſty has been mentioned, book iii. ſ. xxxviii. note *(a)*. The firſt men in Rome were victims to it. In Shakeſpear's language, *It was a net to emmeſh them all.* It will not be amiſs to remark, that if we except, as Tacitus does, that ſingle grievance, the deſcription of the nine firſt years of Tiberius is a more juſt and better founded panegyric, than can be found in the glittering page of Velleius Paterculus, or any other profeſſed encomiaſt. And yet this is the hiſtorian, whom certain critics have called a painter in dark colours, who loves to repreſent men worſe than they are.

Section VII.

(a) Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, cut off by Sejanus, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

(b) The ſtatue of Sejanus was placed in Pompey's theatre. See book iii. ſ. 72. His daughter was alſo to be married to Druſus, the ſon of Claudius, afterwards emperor. For Druſus, ſee the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 102.

Section VIII.

(a) The diſcovery was made by Lygdus A. U. C. 784. See this book, ſ. xi; and book v. ſupplement, ſ. 38.

Section IX.

(a) Attus Clauſus, by birth a Sabine, went in the train of followers to ſettle at Rome, A. U. C. 250. He was well received, and from that time called Appius Claudius, the founder of the Claudian race. Livy, lib. ii. ſ. 16. Annals, book xi. ſ. 24.

Section XI.

(a) This paſſage affords a proof of the hiſtorian's integrity.

Section XII

(a) Seneca repreſents Tiberius with an inflexible countenance delivering a ſpeech that melted the audience into tears. He adds, by this firmneſs,

firmneſs, ſo ſingular on ſuch an occaſion, Tiberius proved to Sejanus, who ſtood at his elbow, that he could ſee unmoved the deſolation of his family. *Experiendum ſe dedit Sejano ad latus ſtanti, quam patienter poſſet ſuos perdere.* Conſol. ad Marciam, ſ. xv. About four or five months after the death of Druſus, deputies arrived from *Ilium* to condole with Tiberius: And I, he ſaid, condole with you for the loſs of Hector. Suet. in Tib. ſ. liv.

Section XIII.

(a) For *Cibyra* and *Ægium*, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) See Annals, book i. ſ. 53. For *Cercina*, ſee Geographical Table.

(*c*) Lucius Aproaius has been mentioned, book iii. ſ. 21. For Ælius Lamia, ſee Annals, book vi. ſ. 27.

Section XIV.

(a) The aſſembly of the *Amphictyones* was the grand council, or national convention of Greece. Whether it was founded by *Amphictyon* the ſon of *Deucalion*, or by *Acriſius*, according to Strabo's opinion, is a queſtion covered by the clouds that hang over remote ages. The confederate cities of Greece ſent their repreſentatives to this general aſſembly, which, at different periods, underwent various changes, ſome cities renouncing the league, and others being admitted. *Pauſanias*, who lived in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, aſſures us, that the *Amphictyons* were then entire, and that the number was thirty, being delegated from the cities which he enumerates. The aſſembly had every year two ſet meetings; one in the ſpring at *Delphos*, and the other in the autumn at *Thermopylæ*. See Potter's Antiquities, vol. i. page 89; and alſo the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. iii. and v.

(b) While Rome was made a theatre of blood by Marius and Sylla, Mithridates, king of Pontus, committed a general maſſacre of the Roman citizens throughout Aſia, A. U. C. 666; before the Chriſtian æra 88.

(*c*) The *Oſcan* Farce (called alſo the *Atellan Fable*, from *Atella*, a town in Campania) was invented by the *Oſci*, a people originally of

Etruria, but finally ſettled in Campania. Livy, lib. vii. ſ. 2. See alſo Voſſius.

Section XV.

(a) He was about four years old. See book ii. ſ. 84. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 72 and 73.

(b) The cenſorian funeral was the higheſt honour that could be paid to the deceaſed. The purple robe, and other *inſignia*, diſtinguiſhed it from a public funeral. See Polybius, lib. vi.

(c) He was mentioned, Annals, book iii. ſ. 66.

Section XVI.

(a) Three forms of contracting marriage prevailed at Rome. 1. When a woman cohabited with one man for the ſpace of a year. 2. When the marriage was a kind of bargain and ſale between the parties, which was called *coemptio*. 3. When the chief pontiff, diſtributing flower in the preſence of ten witneſſes, joined the bride and bridegroom. This was called marriage by CONFARREATION. Other marriages were eaſily diſſolved; but that by confarreation required the ſame ſolemnities (*Diffarreatio*) to divorce the parties. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 427.

Section XX.

(a) What law this was is not agreed among the commentators; but as Tacitus ſays that Silius was tried on the *Lex Majeſtatis*, Lipſius thinks that was the law cited on this occaſion.

(b) Manius Lepidus has been already mentioned, book i. ſ. 13; book iii. ſ. 50. For more of him, ſee Annals, book vi. ſ. 27.

(c) The word *immutable* is inſerted in the tranſlation, perhaps improperly; ſince Tacitus, who points out the ſafeſt courſe to ſteer, does not ſeem to admit an inevitable fate.

Section XXI.

(a) Calpurnius Piſo has been mentioned, much to his honour, book ii. ſ. 34.

(b) Caſſius Severus was an orator of eminence, and a virulent libeller of the firſt perſons of both ſexes. He was baniſhed by Auguſtus. For more

more of him, ſee the Dialogue concerning Oratory, vol. iv. ſ. xix. note *(a)*.

(c) Seriphus, a ſmall iſland in the Ægean ſea. See the Geographical Table. Juvenal ſays,

——Et parvâ tandem caruiſſe Seripho.

SAT. vi. ver. 563.

And in Satire x,

Ut Gyari clauſus ſcopulis, parvâque Seripho.

Section XXIII.

(a) The three ſtatues were, for Furius Camillus, book ii. ſ. 52; L. Apronius, book iii. ſ. 21; Junius Blæſus, book iii. ſ. 72.

(b) Ptolemy was the ſon of Juba, who was made king of Mauritania by Auguſtus. See this book, ſ. v. note *(c)*. He was put to death by Caligula A. U. C. 793. Suet. in Calig. ſ. 26.

(c) See the Geographical Table.

(d) In general, when Africa occurs, Tacitus intends the Roman province, now *the kingdom of Tunis*.

Section XXV.

(a) A caſtle in Numidia, now totally deſtroyed.

Section XXVI.

(a) Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus mentions the ſame preſents ſent to Porſena by the Roman ſenate, A. U. C. 249. Painted robes occur frequently in Homer, and (according to Pliny, lib. viii. ſ. 48) were uſed afterwards as triumphal ornaments.

Section XXVII.

(a) When Julius Cæſar was joint conſul with Marcus Bibulus, the patricians, with the approbation of Cato, agreed to aſſign the departments of ſmalleſt conſequence, ſuch as woods and roads (*ſylvæ calleſque*) to the care of the new conſuls. Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 19.

(b) The ſlaves, increaſing in conſequence of luxury, began to outnumber the free-born citizens.

Section XXVIII.

(a) We have ſeen Vibius Serenus, the father, who had been proconſul in Spain, baniſhed to the iſland of Amergos. This book, ſ. xiii.

Section XXIX.

(a) The populace threatened the *Robur*, which was the dark dungeon; the *Saxum*, or the *Tarpeian Rock*, from which the malefactors were thrown headlong down; and the pains and penalties of parricides, deſcribed by Cicero in his Oration, Pro Roſcio Amerino, ſ. xxvi.

(b) For the iniquitous proceedings againſt Libo, ſee book ii. ſ. 27.

Section XXX.

(a) When the perſon accuſed was found guilty, the fourth part of his eſtate and effects went to the proſecutors; but if he prevented judgment by a voluntary death, his property deſcended to his heirs; and, in that caſe, the emperor paid his harpies out of the *fiſcus*, the imperial exchequer, that is, out of his own coffers. Tiberius felt the burthen of ſo heavy an expence, and for that reaſon oppoſed the motion.

Section XXXI.

(a) Suillius was accuſed by Seneca in the reign of Nero. In return he declaimed with virulence againſt the philoſopher; but, in the end, was baniſhed to one of the Balearic iſlands, and there ended his days. Annals, book xiii. ſ. 43.

(b) Catus Firmius plotted the ruin of Libo. See book ii. ſ. 27.

Section XXXIII.

(a) This paſſage merits more conſideration than can be compreſſed into a note. It will not, however, be amiſs to offer a few remarks. It is admitted, that the three original forms of government, namely, MONARCHY, ARISTOCRACY, and DEMOCRACY, when taken ſeparately, are all defective. Polybius aſſigns the reaſon. Monarchy, he ſays, though conducted according to right reaſon, will in time degenerate into DESPOTISM. Ariſtocracy, which means a government of the beſt

men,

men, will be converted into an OLIGARCHY, or the tyranny of a few. Democracy, in its original and pureſt ſenſe, implies a ſyſtem, under which the people, trained to the ancient manners of their country, pay due worſhip to the gods, and obey the laws eſtabliſhed by common conſent: but ſuch a government is ſoon changed into tumult, rude force, and anarchy. *For when once the people, accuſtomed to notions of equality, pay neither rent nor taxes, and commit depredations on their neighbours; if, at ſuch a time, ſome deſperate incendiary ſhould ariſe, whoſe poverty has ſhut him out from all the honours of the ſtate; then commences the government of the multitude, who run together in tumultuous aſſemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; aſſaſſinations, baniſhments, and diviſions of lands, till they are reduced at laſt to a ſtate of ſavage anarchy.* See Hampton's Polybius, vol. ii. chap. 1. And yet Tacitus ſaw, that the three original forms might be moulded into a beautiful ſyſtem; but he deſpaired of ever ſeeing it eſtabliſhed, and he gives his opinion, that it cannot laſt long. That opinion, however, has been long ſince refuted. The government of KING, LORDS, and COMMONS, has been the pride of Engliſhmen, and the wonder of all Europe, during ſeveral centuries. Tacitus, with his uſual brevity, ſaid leſs than he thought; but the reaſon on which he founded his opinion, probably, was, becauſe in all the popular governments then known in the world, the people acted in their collective body; and, with Polybius, Tacitus ſaw the fatal conſequences. He had no idea of a people acting by repreſentation. It is that circumſtance, and the wiſe regulations of our anceſtors, that have made in this country *the according muſic of a well-mixed ſtate.*

(*b*) The forms of the republican government were ſtill preſerved; the magiſtrates retained their ancient names; *eadem magiſtratuum vocabula*; but the emperor preſided over the whole military department, and his tribunitian power gave him the ſole direction of all civil buſineſs.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, a poet was proſecuted for verſes againſt Agamemnon; and an hiſtorian (meaning *Cordus*) for calling BRUTUS AND CASSIUS THE LAST OF THE ROMANS. The authors were put to death, and their writings ſuppreſſed, though they had been read to Auguſtus,

and approved by that emperor. Suet. in Tib. f. 61. Seneca, in his Eſſay on Conſolation, to Marcia, the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, ſays, her father was not put to death for praiſing Brutus and Caſſius, but for his keen reflections on Sejanus, and therefore fell a victim. De Conſolat. ad Marciam, cap. xxii.

(*b*) We are told by Plutarch, that the Romans called Philopæmenes the laſt of the Greeks, as if, after his death, that nation had produced no illuſtrious character. See the Life of Philopæmenes.

(*c*) Publius Valerius, afterwards ſtyled PUBLICOLA, was the author of a law, by which any perſon whatever, who had the ambition to aim at the ſupreme power, ſo lately aboliſhed, ſhould forfeit his head and all his effects. Livy, lib. ii. f. 8. Plutarch adds, in the Life of PUBLICOLA, that to kill the man, who favoured royalty, was juſtifiable homicide, provided the guilt was clearly proved. And yet, notwithſtanding this law, Brutus and Caſſius were called murderers and parricides.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) Seneca, de Conſolatione ad Marciam, cap. xxii. gives a circumſtantial account of his death. He was three days ſtarving himſelf.

(*b*) Seneca ſays to Marcia, Sejanus gave your father as a donative or a largeſs to his creature *Satrius Secundus*. *Sejanus patrem tuum clienti ſuo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit*; yet he was not able, with all his intereſt at court, to ſuppreſs the works of Cordus, though he procured an order to burn them by the public officer. Seneca praiſes Marcia for the filial piety that preſerved the works of her father, and brought them into public notice after his death. He tells her, that by ſaving his writings ſhe gave new life to the books, which he, who ſuffered death, may be ſaid to have written in his blood. *Ingenium patris tui, de quo ſumptum erat ſupplicium, in uſum hominum reduxiſti, et a verâ illum vindicaſti morte, ac reſtituiſti in publica monumenta libros, quos vir ille fortiſſimus ſanguine ſuo ſcripſerat.* He adds, that the memory of her father will live, as long as the Romans ſhall wiſh to review the hiſtory of their own affairs; as long as poſterity ſhall deſire to know the man, whoſe genius was unfettered, whoſe ſpirit was unconquered, and whoſe hand was ready to deliver himſelf from his enemies. *Cujus viget vigebitque memoria,*

memoria, quamdiu fuerit in pretio Romana cognoſci; quamdiu quiſquam velit ſcire, quid ſit vir Romanus, indomitus ingenio, animo, manu liber. Seneca, ad Marciam, cap. i. See more on this ſubject of burning books, Life of Agricola, ſ. ii. note (*c*).

Section XXXVI

(*a*) The Latin feſtival was inſtituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated every year in the beginning of May, on the Mount *Albanus*, near the ruins of the city of Alba. Livy, lib. li. ſ. 16. The conſuls and other magiſtrates went forth in proceſſion; and, during their abſence, a perſon of high rank was choſen to diſcharge the functions of conſul, and preſerve the peace of the city. See Annals, vi. ſ. 11. In conformity to this cuſtom, we find Druſus acting on this occaſion.

(*b*) The ſon who accuſed his father, this book, ſ. 28.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) A ſenſe of moral obligation is the true motive of virtue. Many who act from that principle *do good by ſtealth, and bluſh to find it fame.* This, however, is not a contempt of fame; it is a wiſh not to have it thought the ſpring of virtuous actions. With others, the love of fame is the ſole incentive. Some purſue it, regardleſs of the rectitude of their conduct, but ſenſible of the value of a fair report in their commerce with the world. *Multi famam, pauci conſcientiam verentur.* Others conſider fame as the reward of a well-acted life, and know no other motive. The effect, in the laſt caſe, is finely deſcribed by Mr. Addiſon:

Honour's a ſacred tie, the law of kings;
The noble mind's diſtinguiſhing perfection,
That aids and ſtrengthens virtue, where it meets her,
And imitates her actions where ſhe is not.
'Tis not to be ſported with.

From the man who does ſport with it, who deſpiſes fame, and has great talents, without one virtue, what can be expected?—Suſpicion, cruelty, luſt, and maſſacre.

Section

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) She who conſpired againſt her huſband, Druſus. This book. ſ. iii.

(*b*) The cuſtom was begun by Julius Cæſar, and continued by Auguſtus. Suetonius, in Aug. ſ. 84.

(*c*) The daughter of Sejanus was to have been married to Druſus, the ſon of Claudius. Annals, iii. ſ. 29. This book, ſ. 7.

(*d*) Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus.

Section XL.

(*a*) Antonia was her mother, and Livia, the widow of Auguſtus, was her grandmother. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

(*b*) Proculeius is mentioned to his honour by Horace:

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

(*c*) Some of the commentators have been at great pains to unravel this myſterious paſſage. He, whoſe curioſity is excited by difficulty, and even ſharpened by impoſſibility, may have the pleaſure of toiling through an elaborate diſſertation on this ſubject by La Bletterie. After all, the paſſage ſeems to be in the ſtyle which Tiberius loved and practiſed; dark and impenetrable. *Seu naturâ, ſive adſuetudine, ſuſpenſa ſemper et obſcura verba.* Annals, book i. ſ. 11. Perhaps he meant to aſſociate Sejanus with himſelf in the tribunitian power.

Section XLII.

(*a*) Montanus was an eminent orator, but too copious, and often redundant. Not content with a thought happily expreſſed, he recurred to it again; and wanting to place it in a new light, he diſfigured what was well ſaid, and went on repeating and retouching the ſame thing, till he ſpoiled the whole. Scaurus called him the Ovid of orators; obſerving, at the ſame time, that to know when to leave off is an eſſential part of oratory, not leſs than the choice of proper expreſſion. *Habet hoc Montanus vitium: dum non eſt contentus unam rem ſemel bene di-*

cere, effecit ut ne bene dixerit. Propter hoc ſolebat Montanum Scaurus inter oratores Ovidium vocare. Aiebat Scaurus non minus magnam virtutem eſſe SCIRE DESINERE, *quam ſcire dicere.* Seneca, Controverſ. iv. cap. 28. Montanus was alſo a poet. Ovid ſays of him, that he excelled in heroic metre, and the tender elegy:

Quippe vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Sufficis, et gemino carmine nomen habes.

(*b*) Euſebius, in his Chronicon, ſays, he was baniſhed to the Baleario Iſlands, and there finiſhed his days. *Votienus Montanus, Narbonenſis orator, in Balearibus inſulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio relegatus.*

(*c*) There were two modes of expulſion from the city of Rome. One was *relegatio*; the other *exilium.* The former was a mere order of removal to a certain diſtance; but the perſon ſo puniſhed did not forfeit his property, nor the freedom of the city. Baniſhment took away every right. Tiberius choſe, on this occaſion, to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment.

(*d*) The *Album Senatorium* was a regiſter of the ſenators publiſhed every year, according to a regulation of Auguſtus.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) Brotier ſays, as far as can be collected from Pauſanias, this temple was not far from the place now called *Zarnata, near the Gulf of Coron in the Morea.*

(*b*) Antigonus, king of Macedonia, died in the 4th year of the 139th Olympiad, A. U. C. 533.

(*c*) Lucius Mummius, conqueror of Corinth, A. U. C. 608.

(*d*) When Greece was reduced to ſubjection, the Romans gave to the whole country the general name of *Achaia.*

(*e*) A town in Sicily, now *Caſtel a Mare*, in the vale of *Mazara.* The temple of *Venus Erycina* was afterwards rebuilt by Claudius. Suetonius, Life of Claudius.

(*f*) Publius Rutilius is called by Velleius Paterculus, the beſt man, not only of his own time, but of any age whatever. He was baniſhed, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Publium Rutilium, virum non*

ſæculi

ſæculi ſui, ſed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis damnaverant. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. ſ. 12. See Seneca, epiſt. lxxix.

Section XLIV.

(*a*) Lentulus was conſul A. U. C. 740. For his victories over the Gætulians in Africa, he obtained triumphal ornaments. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 116. He was ſent with Druſus into Pannonia, Annals, i. ſ. 27.

(*b*) Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. His ſon Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and by her was father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 33 and No. 34.

(*c*) See the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandebourg by the late King of Pruſſia. It is there ſaid, but not on good authority, that the Romans never paſſed the *Elbe*.

(*d*) Julius Antonius, the father of Lucius, has been already mentioned, Annals, iii. ſ. 18. See the Genealogical Table, No. 29 and No. 30.

Section XLV.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section LII.

(*a*) Domitius Afer, an orator highly commended by Quintilian. See Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. xiii. note (*d*).

(*b*) Soſia, the wife of Silius: this book, ſ. xix and xx.

(*c*) Suetonius relates this, and ſays Tiberius never afterwards converſed with Agrippina. *Liberius quiddam quæſtam, manu apprehendit, Græcoque verſu,* SI NON DOMINARIS, *inquit,* FILIOLA, INJURIAM TE ACCIPERE EXISTIMAS. *Nec ullo poſt ſermone dignatus eſt.* In Tib. ſ. 53.

(*d*) Quintilian has ſaid the ſame thing of Domitius Afer; ſee Dialogue concerning Eloquence, in the Supplement, ſ. 8, note (*a*). The great

great critic adviſes all men of talents not to wait for the decays of age; but to ſound a retreat in time, and anchor ſafely in port, before the veſſel is diſabled. The conſequence, he ſays, will be, that the man of genius will enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity, removed from ſcenes of contention, out of the reach of calumny, and will have, while he is ſtill alive, a foretaſte of his poſthumous fame. *Antequam in has ætatis veniat inſidias, receptui canet, et in portum integrâ nave perveniet. Ac, cum jam ſecretus, liber invidiâ, procul a contentionibus, famam in tuto collocavit, ſentiet vivus eam, quæ poſt fata præſtari magis ſolet, venerationem, et quid apud poſteros futurus ſit videbit.* Quintilian, lib. xii. cap. 11.

Section LIII.

(a) She was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Pliny the elder commends her Memoirs, lib. vii. ſ. 8.

Section LIV.

(a) This is mentioned by Suetonius, in Tib. ſ. 53.

Section LV.

(a) The war with Perſeus, king of Macedon, was A. U. C. 583. Ariſtonicus invaded Aſia A. U. C. 623. From that time, that part of Aſia was made a Roman province, and the vices of the eaſt corrupted the Roman manners. *Aſia Romanorum facta, cum opibus ſuis vitia quoque Romam tranſmiſit.* Juſtin, lib. xxxvi. ſ. 4; Florus, lib. ii. ſ. 20.

(b) For theſe ſeveral people, ſee the Geographical Table.

(c) For Ilium, ſee the Geographical Table.

(d) For Halycarnaſſus, ſee the Geographical Table.

(e) Atys, the ſon of Hercules and Omphalè. Herodotus, lib. i.

Section LVI.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Cato, called the Cenſor, was conſul A. U. C. 559.

(c) Carthage was deſtroyed by Scipio, A. U. C. 608.

Section LVII.

(a) Sejanus has been mentioned as the cauſe of the emperor's retreat. This book, f. 41.

(b) Suetonius, ſection 68, deſcribes Tiberius large, robuſt, and of a ſtature above the uſual ſize. Tacitus ſpeaks of him when he was bent under the weight of years.

(c) Some phyſicians have been of opinion that this was the venereal diſeaſe; but it is certain, that Europe knew nothing of that diſorder before the diſcovery of the New World. Fracaſtorius has written an elegant Latin poem on the ſubject.

(d) Suetonius ſays, there was a current report, that Livia, incenſed by the haughty carriage of her ſon, produced the letters of Auguſtus, complaining of the pride and arrogance of Tiberius. The production of thoſe papers, at ſuch a diſtance of time, was thought to be his principal reaſon for leaving Rome. Suet. in Tib. f. 51.

Section LVIII.

(a) Cocceius Nerva ended his days by abſtinence A. U. C. 786, to withdraw himſelf from the horror of the times. Annals, book vi. f. 26. Brotier ſays, he was thought to be father of the emperor Nerva.

(b) He was afterwards ruined by Sejanus. See book vi. f. 101, ſee Ovid De Ponto, lib. ii. eleg. iv and vii.

(c) Theſe Greek attendants, and the cruelties inflicted upon them by Tiberius, are mentioned by Suetonius, f. 56; and ſee Annals, v. in the Supplement, f. 42. There were alſo in his train a number of Chaldæan aſtrologers, or mathematicians, as they choſe to call themſelves. Juvenal, ſat. x. ver. 94.

Section LIX.

(a) This was in Campania, on the ſea-coaſt, near *Terracina*. The villa, according to Brotier, is now called *Sperlonga*.

Section LX.

(a) Julia, the daughter of Druſus, ſon of Tiberius, by his wife Livia, or Livilla. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71 and 74.

Section

Section LXI.

(*a*) Aſinius Agrippa, grandſon to the famous Aſinius Pollio, the friend of Auguſtus, was conſul A. U. C. 778. See this book, ſ. 34.

(*b*) Haterius flouriſhed in the time of Auguſtus. He was an eminent orator, but ſo copious and rapid, that the emperor compared him to a chariot that required a ſpoke in the wheels. *Haterius noſter ſufflaminandus eſt.* Seneca, Controverſ. lib. iv. in Præfatione. See alſo Seneca, epiſt. xl. Euſebius, in his Chronicon, ſays he lived to the age of ninety.

Section LXII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Under the gloomy reign of Tiberius, the people loſt their favourite amuſements, and, therefore, ran in crowds to the theatre and other ſpectacles, whenever an opportunity offered.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, twenty thouſand; in Tib. ſ. 40.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) One of the ſeven hills of Rome.

(*b*) Suetonius mentions this conflagration; in Tib. ſ. 48.

Section LXV.

(*a*) The origin of the *Tuſcan Street* is accounted for in a different manner by Livy, lib. ii. ſ. 14.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) The ſon of Quinctilius Varus, who periſhed with his three legions in Germany. See the Genealogical Table, No. 98. The proſecution of Claudia Pulchra has been mentioned, this book, ſ. 52.

Section LXVII.

(*a*) The iſle of Caprea lies at a ſmall diſtance from the promontory of *Surrentum* (now *Capo della Minerva*), and has the whole circuit of the bay of Naples in view. It is about four miles in length from eaſt to

weſt, and about one in breadth. See Addiſon's Deſcription in his Travels in Italy.

(*b*) For the barbarity, with which Tiberius treated all that landed on the iſland without permiſſion, ſee Suetonius, in Tib. f. 60; and ſee Annals, v. in the Supplement, f. 41.

(*c*) The eruption of Veſuvius happened in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Pliny gives a deſcription of it, lib. vi. epiſt. xvi and xx.

(*d*) Tiberius fortified and fitted up for his reſidence twelve villas on the iſland, and gave to each the name of one of the gods. Suetonius mentions the *Villa Jovis*, in Tib. f. 65.

Section LXVIII

(*a*) Sabinus has been already mentioned as a perſon marked out for deſtruction by Sejanus. This book, f. xviii and xix.

Section LXX.

(*a*) The original ſhortly ſays, *trahebatur damnatus*; but it is clear from the context, that he was hurried to execution. Dio ſays, he was dragged with a hook in his mouth to the *Gemoniæ* (the place where malefactors were expoſed), and afterwards thrown into the Tiber. Pliny the elder relates a remarkable inſtance of the affection of Sabinus's dog. That faithful domeſtic followed his maſter to the priſon, and afterwards, at the *Gemoniæ*, ſtaid with the corpſe, with pathetic cries and diſmal howlings lamenting the loſs. Food was offered to the dog; he took it, and held it to his maſter's mouth; and finally, when the body was thrown into the Tiber, that generous animal leaped into the water, and endeavoured to keep the remains of his maſter from ſinking. *Cum animadverteretur, ex cauſâ Neronis Germanici filii, in Titium Sabinum et ſervitia ejus, canem nec a carcere abigi potuiſſe, nec a corpore receſſiſſe in gradibus Gemoniis, edentem ululatus, magnâ populi Romani coronâ; ex quâ cum quidam ei cibum objeciſſet, ad os defuncti tuliſſe. Innatavit idem in Tiberim cadaver abjecti ſuſtentare conatus; effuſâ multitudine ad ſpectandum animalis fidem.* Pliny, lib. viii. f. 61.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) In what remains of Tacitus, we find the puniſhment of LATIARIS only. See Annals, vi. ſ. 4. The reſt ſuffered under Caligula.

(*b*) Aſinius Gallus married Vipſania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa by Pomponia, the grand-daughter of Atticus, after ſhe was divorced from Tiberius. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was alſo the daughter of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus; and being half-ſiſter to the wife of Aſinius Gallus, ſhe was, of courſe, aunt to his children. See the Genealogical Table.

(*c*) She was guilty of adultery with Silanus. See book iii. ſ. 24.

(*d*) For Trimetus, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) The Friſians inhabited along the ſea-coaſt, between the Rhine and the Amiſia (the Ems). See the Geographical Table; and the Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxxiv. and note (*b*).

(*b*) Druſus, the father of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79 and 81.

(*c*) Cæſar has deſcribed this ſpecies of cattle. The URI, he ſays, nearly equal the elephant in bulk, but in colour, ſhape, and kind, reſemble the bull. They are of uncommon ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, and ſpare neither man nor beaſt that comes in their way. See Duncan's Cæſar, book vi. ſ. 26. Cæſar, lib. vi. ſ. 28. Virgil has,

Sylveſtres Uri aſſiduè, capreæque ſequaces.

GEORGICS, lib. ii.

(*d*) FLEVUM caſtle was on the borders of the river FLEVUS, but no veſtige of it remains at preſent. The river is ſwallowed up by the great gulf, called *Zuyder-zee*. See the Geographical Table.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) There were three different eſtabliſhments of cavalry in the Roman armies: namely, the troops of horſe belonging to each legion; the cavalry that formed a ſeparate corps, as *Ala Petrina*, *Syllana*, *Scribonia*; and

and the cavalry of the allies, as *Ala Batavorum*, *Trevererorum*, &c. For the Caninefates, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) Brotier calls it the largeſt foreſt in the territory of the *Friſians*, known at preſent by the name of SEVEN WOLDEN.

Section LXXV.

(a) Her father, Germanicus, being adopted by Tiberius, ſhe, of courſe, was the emperor's grand-daughter. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. For her huſband Domitius Ænobarbus, ſee the Table, No. 34. It was ſaid of him, if he had not been the father of Nero, he would have been the worſt man of the age.

NOTES

ON THE

FIFTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(a) TILLEMONT, in his Hiſtory of the Emperors, fixes the paſſion of our Saviour in this year. Lactantius and many of the fathers are of the ſame opinion. The writers of modern date place that great event four years later, in the xixth of Tiberius, inſtead of xvth, and their calculation is now generally adopted. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 316, 4to edition. Tacitus, incidentally, mentions Jeſus Chriſt, and his ſuffering under Pontius Pilate, Annals, xv. ſ. 44.

(b) Auguſtus by his laſt will adopted her into the Julian family, under the additional name of AUGUSTA. Annals, book i. ſ. 8. Tacitus, after that time, calls her JULIA, JULIA AUGUSTA, and frequently AUGUSTA only. For the ſake of uniformity ſhe is always called *Livia* in the tranſlation, and once or twice *Empreſs Mother*, though it muſt be acknowledged that the appellation is premature. The Romans had no title to correſpond with *Empreſs*, *Senatreſs*, &c. See an Eſſay on the Name of Auguſtus, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xix. 4to edition. Julia died, according to Pliny, lib. xiv. ſ. 6, at the age of eighty-two. Her father was of the Claudian family, and, being adopted into the houſe of Livius, took the name of Livius Druſus Claudianus. He fought on the ſide of liberty at the battle of Philippi, and, ſeeing the day loſt, died by his own hand. For Livia, ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 66.

(c) He

(c) He was alſo, as well as his wife, of the Claudian family. He appeared in arms againſt Octavius (afterwards Auguſtus), on the ſide of Lucius Antonius, whom he conſidered as the laſt aſſertor of public liberty. Antonius was beſieged at *Peruſia* by Auguſtus, A. U. C. 714, and, after holding out till the garriſon was reduced by famine, was obliged to capitulate. Tiberius Nero endeavoured to collect the ſcattered remains of the republican party; but, his efforts proving fruitleſs, he was obliged to fly to Sextus Pompeius, then in poſſeſſion of Sicily. His wife Livia attended him in his flight, being at that time big with child; and bearing in her arms her infant ſon Tiberius, who was about two years old. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 75. The father afterwards made his peace with Auguſtus, and returned to Rome A. U. C. 716; and his wife Livia, yielding to the emperor's embraces, ſealed his pardon. Livia was then ſix months with child. Auguſtus, before he married her, was obliged to obtain a diſpenſation from the Pontifical College. In three months afterwards Livia was delivered of her ſecond ſon, Druſus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79. Caligula, afterwards emperor, and great-grandſon of Livia, uſed to ſay of her, that ſhe was another Ulyſſes in petticoats. *Liviam Auguſtam, proaviam ſuam, identidem* ULYSSEM STOLATUM *appellans.* Suetonius, in Calig. ſ. 23.

(d) Germanicus, the ſon of Druſus, was grandſon to Livia; and Agrippina, his wife, was grand-daughter to Auguſtus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 81 and No. 51.

(e) Tiberius, from the day of his acceſſion to the imperial dignity, conſidered his mother as a woman of a politic and artificial character, proud, fierce, and overbearing; in appearance, plotting to aggrandize her ſon; in ſecret, wiſhing for nothing ſo much as to gratify her own ambition. She lived three years after Tiberius retired to the iſle of Caprea, and, during that time, never had more than one ſhort interview. In her laſt illneſs Tiberius did not condeſcend to viſit her. He ſignified an inclination to attend the funeral ceremony; but he promiſed only to deceive, and delayed ſo long, that the body was in a ſtate of putrefaction before it was committed to the flames. Suet. in Tib. ſ. 51.

Section

Section II.

(*a*) The apotheoſis of Livia is ſtill to be ſeen on ancient medals; but we learn from Suetonius, that divine honours were granted by the emperor Claudius, and the medals were moſt probably ſtruck during his reign. See Suet. in Claud. ſ. xi.

Section III.

(*a*) Cotta Meſſalinus was the ſon of Meſſala Corvinus, the famous orator, who was highly commended by Quintilian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. xii. note (*e*). The ſon inherited a portion of his father's eloquence, but none of his virtues. He is again mentioned by Tacitus as the promoter of oppreſſion and cruelty. Annals, book vi. ſ. 5. He is recorded by Pliny the elder as a voluptuous epicure, and a great proficient in the art of cookery. He invented a new *ragout*, compoſed of the feet of geeſe and the combs of cocks. I relate this fact, ſays Pliny, to the end, that the men, who profeſs to ſtudy the pleaſures of the table, may enjoy all the praiſe due to their kitchens. *Tribuetur enim a me culinis cujuſque palma cum fide.* Pliny, lib. x. ſ. 22. Some of Ovid's Epiſtles, written in his exile, are addreſſed to Meſſalina.

Section IV.

(*a*) Suetonius aſſures us, that Julius Cæſar ordered the acts of the ſenate, as well as of the people, to be daily committed to writing, and publiſhed, which had never been done before his time. See in Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 20. Auguſtus, a more timid, and, by conſequence, a darker politician, ordered the proceedings of the ſenate to be kept ſecret. Suet. in Aug. ſ. 36. Tiberius followed the ſame rule, but, as it ſeems, had the caution to appoint a ſenator to execute the office. Dio ſays, that he alſo directed what ſhould be inſerted or omitted. Theſe records were, in the modern phraſe, the JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE. In the early period of the commonwealth, before the uſe of letters was generally known, the years were regiſtered by a number of nails driven into the gate of the temple of Jupiter. Livy, lib. vii. ſ. 3. But even in that rude age, the chief pontiff committed to writing the tranſactions of each year, and kept the record at his houſe, for the inſpection

of the people. *Pontifex maximus res omnes ſingulorum annorum mandabat literis, efferebatque in Album, et proponebat tabulam domi, poteſtas ut eſſet populo cognoſcendi.* Cicero, De Orat. lib. ii. ſ. 12. This mode of keeping the records continued in uſe till the death of Mucius Scævola, A. U. C. 672. After that time, the motions in the ſenate, the debates, and reſolutions of the fathers, occaſioned a multiplicity of buſineſs, and, of courſe, the ancient ſimple form was found inſufficient. Under the emperors, four different records grew into uſe: namely, the acts of the prince; ſecondly, the proceedings of the ſenate; thirdly, the public tranſactions of the people; and fourthly, the games, ſpectacles, births, marriages, deaths, and daily occurrences of the city, called the DIURNA. The laſt were ſent into the provinces, and were there received as the ROMAN GAZETTE.

SUPPLEMENT *(a)*.

TO the great loſs of the literary world, the evil fate that attended the works of Tacitus, is felt in this place, at a point of time when an important ſcene is to be opened; a ſcene in which Tiberius and Sejanus were the chief actors, each with the darkeſt policy contriving the other's ruin. The art of gradually unfolding the characters of men, in a courſe of action, was the talent of Tacitus, beyond any hiſtorian of antiquity; but the reſt of the tranſactions of the preſent year of Rome 782, all of 783, and the greateſt part of 784, have periſhed in the confuſion of barbarous times. It is to be lamented, that Sejanus has been ſnatched away from Tacitus, that is, from the hand of juſtice. The chaſm can never be filled up: for what modern writer can hope to rival the energy of Tacitus? All that remains, is to collect the facts from the moſt authentic hiſtorians, and relate them here in a continued ſeries, rather than give the reader the trouble of finding them where they lie ſcattered in various authors.

Section 2.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 51.

(*b*) The name of this Roman knight is not mentioned by Suetonius, who relates the fact, in Tib. f. 51.

(*c*) Seneca gives a picture of this dreadful period. *Excipiebatur ebriorum ſermo; ſimplicitas jocantium. Nihil erat tutum: omnis ſæviendi placebat occaſio; nec jam reorum exſpectabatur eventus, cum eſſet unus.* De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.

Section 3.

(*a*) For this profound tranquillity in all parts of the Roman empire, ſee Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 126.

Section 4.

(*a*) The conſuls for the year 783 were high in favour with Tiberius, and, accordingly, were afterwards married to two daughters of Germanicus; Druſilla, to Caſſius Longinus; Julia, to Vinicius. See book vi. f. 15. See alſo the Genealogical Table, No. 95, 97, and 99.

(*b*) Tiberius had been, at this time, above three years in his receſs at the iſle of Capreæ, indulging himſelf in every vice, and planning deeds of cruelty and horror; and yet Velleius aſks Vinicius the conſul, to whom he dedicates his work, what Tiberius had done to merit the worſt agony of mind, and to be made miſerable by his daughter-in-law and his grandſon? *Quantis hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus laceravit animum ejus? Quamdiu abſtruſo, quod miſerrimum eſt, pectus ejus flagravit incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolere, indignari, erubeſcere coactus eſt?* Lib. ii. f. 130.

Section 5.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 64.

(*b*) For Herculaneum, ſee the Geographical Table. Seneca ſays, Caligula razed the caſtle to the ground, that no veſtige might remain of the place, where his mother ſuffered ſo much barbarity. De Irâ, lib. iii. f. 32.

(*c*) This fact is related by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 53.

(*d*) Suetonius, ſ. 53.

(*e*) For inſtances of this ſavage cruelty, ſee in this Supplement, ſ. 41.

(*f*) See the account of Agrippina's death, book vi. ſ. 25.

(*g*) For Pontia, ſee the Geographical Table. Nero was put to death in that iſland by order of Tiberius. Suet. ſ. 54.

Section 6.

(*a*) This was Otho, afterwards emperor. Suetonius ſays, he had a daughter, whom he contracted to Druſus, ſon of Germanicus, before ſhe was of age to marry. Life of Otho, ſ. 1.

(*b*) For her flagitious life, and an account of her death, ſee book vi. ſ. 40. See the Genealogical Table, No. 84.

Section 7.

(*a*) Dio ſays that the conſul became the agent of Sejanus.

(*b*) Suetonius, in Tib. ſ. 54.

(*c*) See book vi. ſ. 23 and 24.

Section 8.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, it was more by cunning and ſly management, than by his imperial authority, that he was able to cut off Sejanus. In Tib. ſ. 65.

(*b*) Theſe Memoirs were extant in Tacitus's time. Suetonius (in Tib. ſ. 61) refers to them for the fact here aſſerted; and in the Life of Domitian, that emperor, he ſays, laid aſide the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences, and read nothing but the commentaries of Tiberius. In Domit. ſ. 20. The Memoirs written by Tiberius were, probably, the Manual of Tyranny.

Section 9.

(*a*) After all that Tacitus has hitherto diſcloſed of the character of Tiberius, one cannot read, without aſtoniſhment, the flattering account given by Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. ſ. 126 and 127) of the juſtice, quity, moderation, and every virtue, which, according to that ſycophant hiſtorian, diſtinguiſhed the reign of Tiberius. The picture of a politic, dark, and cruel tyrant is drawn in gracious colours. Pliny's Panegyric of Trajan is not more highly finiſhed.

Section

Section 10.

(*a*) The veneration paid to Sejanus is deſcribed at length by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section 11.

(*a*) This writer's work is dignified with the title of a Roman Hiſtory; but it is well obſerved by Lipſius and Voſſius, that it deſerves no ſuch title, being, in truth, nothing more than a collection of the principal events, that happened in the world, from the Trojan war down to the xvith of Tiberius, A. U. C. 783. It is not, ſays Lipſius, a compendium, or abridgment of hiſtory, though it muſt be allowed that the narrative proceeds in chronological order. It contains an account of eminent men, and characters well delineated; but the whole of the firſt book is a miſcellaneous review of ancient times and foreign nations. The ſecond book *is* a narrative of Roman affairs, written with eaſe and elegance, but, when it treats of the Cæſars, in a ſtyle of adulation. In the concluſion, the hiſtorian compoſes a fervent prayer, which muſt aſtoniſh all who are converſant in the hiſtory of Tiberius. He throws himſelf on his knees, and invokes the protection of Jupiter, Mars, and all the gods, to prolong the valuable life of Tiberius, and late, very late, to give to the Roman people a line of princes worthy of the ſucceſſion to ſo great a prince. *Cuſtodite, ſervate, protegite hunc ſtatum, hanc pacem; eique functo longiſſimâ ſtatione mortali deſtinate ſucceſſores quam ſeriſſimos*, &c. See Vell. Patercul. in the concluſion.

Section 12.

(*a*) Aſinius Gallus, ſon of the famous Aſinius Pollio, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. ſ. 12.

Section 13.

(*a*) For more of Gætulicus, ſee book vi. ſ. 30.

Section 14.

(*a*) Crevier, in his Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors, ſays, Aſinius was deputed on ſome buſineſs, which cannot now be known; but the fact, as here ſtated, is confirmed by Dio, lib. 58.

(*b*) Syriacus

(*b*) Syriacus is mentioned by Seneca as an elegant orator, *multa diſerte dixit.* See Controverſiæ, lib. ii. ſ. 9.

Section 15.

(*a*) This match was propoſed by Sejanus, book iv. ſ. 39, and rejected by Tiberius, ſ. 40. That he afterwards conſented to give Livia in marriage to Sejanus, ſee book vi. ſ. 8, where Sejanus is expreſsly called, the ſon-in-law of the empero-

Section 18.

(*a*) In this ſituation of things, Dio ſays, Sejanus was emperor of Rome; and Tiberius, the lord of an iſland.

Section 19.

(*a*) L. Piſo was præfect of the city, and, in that office, diſcharged his duty with great ſkill, and equal integrity. Velleius Paterculus ſays, no man was more fond of indolence, and yet no man tranſacted buſineſs with ſuch ability. *Vix quemquam reperiri poſſe, qui aut otium validius diligat, aut facilius ſufficiat negotio.* Lib. ii. ſ. 98. Seneca tells us, that he was always drunk, and never out of bed before ten in the forenoon; and yet he contrived to execute his commiſſion with uncommon diligence. He was the confidential magiſtrate of Auguſtus; and Tiberius, when he retreated into Campania, truſted all his moſt ſecret directions to the care of Piſo. *Lucius Piſo, urbis cuſtos, ebrius, ex quo ſemel factus fuit. Majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat; uſque in horam ſextam fere dormiebat. Officium tamen ſuum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentiſſime adminiſtravit. Huic Divus Auguſtus dedit ſecreta mandata, et Tiberius, proficiſcens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe et ſuſpecta relinqueret, et inviſa.* Seneca, epiſt. 83. For an account of Piſo's death, at fourſcore years of age, ſee Annals, book vi. ſ. 10.

Section 20.

(*a*) The fate of this eminent man, and Priſca his wife, is related by Dio, lib. 58.

Section 21.

(*a*) This decree of the ſenate is mentioned by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section

Section 23.

(*a*) During the time of the republic, the conſular office laſted for the year. The emperors changed this rule. In order to gratify the ambition of their favourites, they appointed a new ſucceſſion at different times in the year; but the names of ſuch conſuls do not appear in the *Faſti Conſulares*.

Section 24.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Calig. ſ. 10.

(*b*) Suetonius has recorded what Antonia, the mother of Claudius, ſaid of her ſon. *Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictabat; nec abſolutum a naturâ, ſed tantum inchoatum; ac ſi quem ſocordiæ argueret, ſtultiorem aiebat filio ſuo Claudio.* Sueton. in Claud. ſ. 3.

Section 25.

(*a*) See Dio, book lviii.

Section 26.

(*a*) The particulars of this plot, and the detection of it by Antonia (for whom ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 32), are related by Joſephus.

Section 27.

(*a*) Satrius Secundus was the accuſer of Cremutius Cordus. Annals, iv. ſ. 34. Seneca, ſpeaking of that tranſaction, De Conſolatione ad Marciam, ſays, Sejanus, meaning to enrich his creatures, gave Cordus, her father, as a *largeſs* to Satrius Secundus. *Sejanus patrem tuum clienti ſuo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit.* See Annals, book vi. ſ. 47, where Satrius is mentioned as the informer againſt Sejanus.

(*b*) Joſephus, who was well informed in every thing that related to Tiberius, confirms what is here ſaid. According to him, Antonia employed Cænis, who was afterwards the favourite miſtreſs of Veſpaſian, to write the letters to Tiberius; and Pallas, who became miniſter of ſtate under Claudius, carried the diſpatches to the iſle of Caprea.

Section 28.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Tib. ſ. 65.

(*b*) Sueto-

(*b*) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 65.

Section 29.

(*a*) The particulars of the fall of Sejanus, and the conduct of Macro, the principal actor in that buſineſs, are related at large by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section 31.

(*a*) The letter is nowhere ſet forth, but the ſubſtance is reported by Dio. Juvenal ſays, no direct charge was exhibited againſt Sejanus; no facts were ſtated; no witneſs was produced. A pompous letter arrived from Caprea, and that was ſufficient:

Sed quo cecidit ſub crimine? quiſnam
Delator? quibus indiciis? quo teſte probavit?
Nil horum: verboſa et grandis epiſtola venit
A Capreis.—— JUVENAL, ſat. x. ver. 69.

(*b*) The names of theſe two ſenators are nowhere mentioned.

Section 33.

(*a*) The behaviour of the populace is well deſcribed by Juvenal:

Deſcendunt ſtatuæ, reſtemque ſequuntur.
Ipſas deinde rotas bigarum impacta ſecuris
Cædit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
Jam ſtridunt ignes; jam follibus atque camini
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Sejanus: deinde ex facie toto orbe ſecundâ
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, ſartago, patellæ.
Sat. x. ver. 58.

(*b*) Seneca differs from this account. He ſays, Sejanus was torn in pieces by the populace, and nothing remained for the executioner to throw into the river.

Section 34.

(*a*) Juvenal has deſcribed the humours of the mob: they ſaw Sejanus ruined, and they hated him. If fortune had favoured his cauſe, they

they would have been ready to hail their new emperor with acclamations of joy.

——————— Sed quid
Turba Remi? ſequitur fortunam, ut ſemper, et odit
Damnatos: idem populus, ſi Nurſcia Tuſco
Faviſſet, ſi oppreſſa foret ſecura ſenectus
Principis, hac ipſâ Sejanum diceret horâ
Auguſtum.—— SAT. x. ver. 72.

Section 35.

(*a*) Dio gives an account of the honours voted on this occaſion.

Section 36.

(a) The twelve villas, which Tiberius occupied in the iſle of Caprea, have been already mentioned, book iv. ſ. 67.

Section 37.

(a) Sejanus had repudiated his wife ſome time before. See book iv. ſ. 3; and ſee *ibidem*, ſ. 11.

Section 38.

(*a*) For Eudemus and Lygdus, ſee book iv. ſ. 11.

(b) Dio relates the fact. For Antonia, ſee this Supplement, ſ. 27; and ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 32.

Section 39.

(a) The name of the preceptor was Theodorus of Gadara. Suetonius, in Tib. ſ. 57.

(b) The man, who, amidſt the misfortunes of his family, *wanted the natural touch*, might reaſon in this manner; but Priam thought otherwiſe. It was ſaid of him, that all he gained by a long life, was, that he wept oftener than his ſon Troilus. The ſentiment of Tiberius is reported by Suetonius, in Tib. ſ. 62.

(c) Suetonius, in Calig. ſ. 11.

Section 40.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 62.

(*b*) Machiavel has not been able to deviſe a plan of more profound and barbarous policy. By conſulting their opinion, he made them believe that his friendſhip was ſincere, becauſe it was intereſt; by keeping near his perſon, he cut them off at his will and pleaſure; and by ſetting them at variance among themſelves, he made them the authors of their own deſtruction. See Suetonius, in Tib. f. 55.

Section 41.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 62.

(*b*) The ſtory is told by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 57.

(*c*) Suetonius, f. 60.

(*d*) Suetonius, f. 61.

Section 42.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 56.

(*b*) Suetonius, *ibidem.*

(*c*) This account of malleable glaſs, and the fate of the manufacturer, are told by Dio, lib. lvii. Pliny relates the ſame ſtory, but ſeems to doubt the truth of it. Lib. xxxvi. f. 26. Petronius, whoſe romance, called SATYRICON, is a diſguiſed and pleaſant ſatire on the private life of Claudius and Nero, has put the hiſtory of this tranſaction into the mouth of *Trimalcion*, a ridiculous character, who ſeems to be introduced to enliven the narrative, and divert the reader by his blunders. "Do not," ſays Trimalcion, "take me for an IGNORAMUS; "I know the origin of the Corinthian metal. At the ſacking of Troy, "Hannibal, that ſly freebooter, having gathered into a heap all the "gold and ſilver ſtatues, with the *bronze* and other rarities, cauſed "them to be melted down into one enormous maſs, which was afterwards ſhivered to fragments, and by the artiſts converted into diſhes, "plates, and ſtatues. That is your Corinthian metal; neither this, "nor that; but a mixture of all." After this pleaſantry, we have the anecdote of Tiberius and the glaſs-manufacturer, which, whether true or falſe, is told with an air of ridicule, and, conſequently, brought into diſrepute.

Section

Section VI.

(*a*) The Supplement being brought to the point, where it connects with the original, Tacitus goes on from this place to the end of the book. The reader will obſerve, that he ſtopped at the end of ſection v. The intermediate ſections are marked with figures, inſtead of the Roman numeral letters. It is to be regretted, that the name of the perſon, who ſpeaks in the preſent ſection with ſuch dignity of ſentiment, cannot be traced in any hiſtorian of that age. The character of the man ſubſiſts, and will always claim reſpect. It is true, that this excellent man deſtroyed himſelf; but ſuicide, at that time, was the only relief from cruelty and oppreſſion. See what Tacitus ſays on this ſubject, Annals, vi. ſ. 29.

Section VIII.

(*a*) P. Vitellius was the faithful companion of Germanicus in Germany and Aſia. He afterwards proſecuted Piſo for the murder of his friend; Annals, iii. ſ. 10 and 13. Suetonius relates, that he was ſeized among the accomplices of Sejanus; and being delivered to the cuſtody of his brother, he opened his veins, but, by the perſuaſion of his friends, ſuffered the wound to be bound up. He died ſoon after of a broken heart. Sueton. in Vitellio, ſ. 2. He was uncle to Vitellius, the emperor. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. Pomponius Secundus was of conſular rank. Quintilian praiſes his dramatic genius. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. xiii. note (*c*).

Section IX.

(*a*) The original calls it the triumviral puniſhment, becauſe (as appears in the Digeſt i. tit. ii. ſ. 30) it was the duty of the triumvir to ſee execution done on ſuch as were condemned to die. The men, who felt no compaſſion for an innocent child, thought it right to be ſcrupulous about forms, in order to commit a legal murder. Suetonius relates the fact as ſtated by Tacitus. In Tib. ſ. 61.

Section X.

(*a*) Dio ſays, that the impoſtor was taken, and ſent a priſoner to

Tiberius. But Dio is at times either too credulous, or too much pleaſed with his own invention.

Section XI.

(*a*) Trio has been mentioned, Annals, ii. ſ. 28, as a practiſed informer, a man of dangerous talents, and an infamous character. *Celebre inter accuſatores Trionis ingenium erat, avidumque famæ malæ.*

NOTES

ON THE

SIXTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) DOMITIUS, commonly called Domitius Ænobarbus, is the perſon whom we have ſeen married to Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus. Annals, book iv. ſ. 75. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Suetonius draws his character in the blackeſt colours; and adds, that he was ſo ſenſible of his own depravity, as to ſay, when he was told of Nero's birth, "Nothing can ſpring from Agrippina and myſelf but a monſter of vice, and a ſcourge of human kind." When Tiberius died, he was confined in priſon, charged, among other crimes, with an inceſtuous commerce with Lepida, his ſiſter. He was ſaved by the change of the times, and not long after died of a dropſy at the town of Pyrgi. Suetonius in Nero, ſ. 5 and 6. The other conſul, Camillus Scribonianus, is the ſame who ten years after, in the reign of Claudius, was proclaimed emperor by the legions in Dalmatia, and in a few days murdered by the ſoldiers.

(*b*) Suetonius explains the word SPINTRIÆ, and adds, that there were cells in woods and groves, furniſhed with laſcivious pictures and ſtatues, whence the word *Sellarii*. In Tib. ſ. 43.

Section II.

(*a*) This is Livia, who conſpired with Sejanus againſt the life of

Druſus, her huſband; and ſuffered for that crime in the manner already mentioned. See book v. in the Supplement, ſ. 38.

(*b*) It will not be amiſs to repeat, that *Ærarium* was the public treaſury, and Fiscus the private treaſury of the prince.

(*c*) Sueton ius, in Tib. ſ. 65.

(*d*) If Tiberius had ſeriouſly intended to enter the ſenate-houſe, he was a better politician than to be the dupe of a plan propoſed by Trogonius Gallus. None were admitted into the ſenate but the fathers, and thoſe to whom they occaſionally gave audience, or who were cited to their bar. If Tiberius was in fear of the ſenators, he knew better than to put arms in their hands. He would have deſired to enter that aſſembly with a picked number of the prætorian guards.

Section III.

(*a*) Junius Gallio was the brother of Seneca. See Annals, xv. ſ. 73.

(*b*) Roſcius Otho, tribune of the people, was the author of a law, called *Lex Roſcia*, A. U. C. 685; by which fourteen rows in the theatre, next to the patrician order, were aſſigned to the Roman knights, with an expreſs proviſion, that no freedman, nor even the ſon of a freedman, ſhould be admitted into the equeſtrian order. Horace deſcribes a man, who was grown ſuddenly rich, taking his ſeat in thoſe rows of the theatre, in contempt of Otho and his law.

Sedibuſque magnus in primis eques,
Othone contempto, ſedet. Epod. iv.

In the time of Auguſtus this law was falling into diſuſe; but the ſubſequent emperors, in order to give a diſtinguiſhed preference to the freedmen, whom they enriched, revived the Lex Roscia in all its force. Hence Juvenal ſays, Let the man who is not worth the ſum by law required, riſe from the equeſtrian cuſhion, and make room for pimps and the ſons of pimps.

——— Exeat, inquit,
Si pudor eſt, et de pulvino ſurgat equeſtri,

Cujus

Cujus res legi non ſufficit, et ſedeant hic
Lenonum pueri quocumque in fornice nati.

SAT. iii. ver. 153.

Section IV.

(a) See book v. f. 71.

(b) For the end of Fulcinius Trio, ſee this book, f. 38.

Section V.

(a) Caius Cæſar, more known by the name of Caligula. Brotier's edition has *C. Cæſarem*, and ſome have *Caiam Cæſarem*. The laſt reading is adopted in this tranſlation. Caligula was guilty of inceſt with his ſiſter, Druſilla, whilſt he was under age. Suetonius, in Calig. f. 24.

(b) The original ſays, *novemdialem cœnam*, becauſe the grief of the Romans for the loſs of a friend laſted nine days, and then concluded with a ſolemn feaſt in honour of the dead. Cotta's meaning was, that celebrating the birth-day of an old woman ready to ſink into her grave, was nothing different from a *novem-dial*, or mourning-feſtival. In the fragments of Cyrus, there is a fine verſe, importing, that when an old woman laughs, death grins a ghaſtly ſmile. *Anus cum ridet, morti delicias facit.*

Section VI.

(a) Suetonius has the ſame letter in the very words here reported. In Tib. f. 67.

(b) Socrates, here properly called the Oracle of Ancient Wiſdom, ſays, in Plato's Republic, "A tyrant is the worſt of ſlaves. Were his heart and inward ſentiments laid open to our view, we ſhould ſee him ſtretched on the torture of the mind, diſtracted by his fears, and goaded by the pangs of guilt." Tacitus had his eye on this paſſage. Poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power, Tiberius lives in miſery. His grief is heard from the ſolitude, and the rocks of Caprea. His caſe was like that of Œdipus, as deſcribed by Statius, in a fine picturesque line: *Sæva dies animi, ſcelerumque in pectore diræ.*

Section VII.

(a) Seneca relates a curious attempt by an informer at a convivial meeting: One of the gueſts wore the image of Tiberius on his ring.

His ſlave, ſeeing his maſter intoxicated, took the ring off his finger. The informer, in ſome time after, inſiſted that the owner, to mark his contempt of Tiberius, was ſitting upon the figure of the emperor. For this offence he drew up an accuſation, and was getting it atteſted by ſubſcribing witneſſes, when the ſlave ſhewed to the whole company that he had the ring in his hand all the time. Seneca aſks, Was the ſervant a ſlave? and was the informer a bottle-companion? *Si quis hunc ſervum vocat, et illum convivam vocabit.* De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.

Section X.

(*a*) The paſſage in which L. Piſo was mentioned by Tacitus, is loſt with other parts of the fifth book. See the Supplement, ſ. 19, and note (*a*).

Section XI.

(*a*) He is mentioned by Livy in the character of præfect of the city. Imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam ante ab rege inſtituto, reliquit. Lib. i. ſ. 59.

Section XII.

(*a*) The hiſtory of the Sibylline Books, as much of it at leaſt as can be condenſed into a note, is as follows: A woman, ſuppoſed to be the Cumean Sibyl, preſented to Tarquin the Proud three books, of which, according to the account of Pliny the elder, lib. xiii. cap. 13, three were burned by her own direction. Other authors, ſuch as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, lib. iv. cap. 62; and Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 19, mention nine books, ſix of which, they ſay, were committed to the flames, and three preſerved with care. Whatever the number was, it periſhed in the conflagration that deſtroyed the Capitol, not during the ſocial war, as ſaid by miſtake in the original, but in the civil war between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 671. Thoſe books had been always conſidered as a ſacred depoſit, containing prophetic accounts of the grandeur of Rome, and the certain means of propitiating the gods in the day of diſtreſs, or when portents and prodigies gave notice of ſome impending calamity. Tarquin committed this invaluable treaſure to the care of two officers appointed for the purpoſe. The number,

number, A. U. C. 387, was increased to ten. After the fire of the capital, when the political and religious oracle of the state was lost, the senate ordered diligent search to be made in Italy, Asia, and Africa, for all kinds of Sibylline verses, and that compilation was given in charge to fifteen officers, called QUINDECEMVIRI. They, and they only, were to have access to those mysterious books, that contained the fame and fate of the Romans; *famamque et fata nepotum*: but even they were not allowed to inspect the predictions without the special orders of the senate. As long as the pagan superstition lasted, the Sibylline books continued to be the political creed of the emperor. In the reign of Honorius, Stilico, the ambitious minister, and pretended convert to Christianity, ordered all the Sibylline books to be burnt. Paganism groaned and expired. It appeared that there had been in various places a great number of Sibylline women, whose verses were obtruded on the world by a pious fraud; but the Cumæan Sibyl, so called from *Cumæ*, a town on the coast of Campania, was the only genuine prophetess. It is well known that Virgil, not understanding what was foretold of the birth of Christ, applies the whole prediction to a other purpose in his fourth eclogue, called the POLLIO. The name of Sibyl was compounded of *Διος*, *Ιωνα*, and *Βουλη*, *Prosilium*. See the Delphin Virgil, lib. vi. v. 36; and see the fine description of the Sibyl in her prophetic ecstasy, v. 46.

(*b*) The senate had two ways of coming to a resolution: if there was no debate, the house decided, *per discessionem*. When there was an opposition, the fathers were called upon *seriatim* for their opinions. See Aulus Gellius, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

(*c*) See to the same effect Suetonius, in Aug. s. 31.

Section XV.

As Germanicus was adopted by Tiberius, Annals i. s. 3, his daughters were, consequently, the grandchildren of Tiberius.

Section XVI.

(*a*) The grievances of the people, labouring under the oppression of their creditors, occur so often in Livy, that it is needless to cite particular

lar instances. The law of Julius Cæsar, mentioned in this passage, is explained by Suetonius. It was expected, he says, that all debts should be cancelled; but Cæsar ordered, that all debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to a fair estimate of their estates, and the rates at which they were purchased before the commencement of the civil wars, deducting from the principal the interest that had been paid; and by those means about a fourth part of the debt was sunk. Suetonius in Jul. Cæs. s. 42. See also Cæsar de Bell. Civ. iii. s. 1. The late Sir William Blackstone says, Many good and learned men perplexed themselves, and other people, by raising questions about the reward for the use of money, and by expressing their doubts about the legality of it *in foro conscientiæ*. A compensation for the loan of money is generally called *interest* by those who think it lawful; and *usury*, by those who think otherwise; for the enemies to *interest* in general make no distinction between that and *usury*, holding any increase of money to be indefensibly usurious. The arguments in support of that opinion are refuted by Sir William Blackstone, who proves that the taking of a moderate reward for the use of money, is not only, not *malum in se*, but highly useful to society. See his Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 454 to 457. Brotier states the different rates of interest known at Rome, at different times. Some of them were usurious on account of their excess, as may be seen in the following Table:

Senus	Semiunciarium,	*Half per Cent.*
	Unciarium,	*One per Cent.*
Usura	Quadrans,	*Three per Cent.*
	Triens,	*Four per Cent.*
	Quincunx,	*Five per Cent.*
	Semis,	*Six per Cent.*
	Bes,	*Eight per Cent.*
	Deunx,	*Eleven per Cent.*
	Centessima,	*Twelve per Cent.*
	Centessima Quaterna,	*Forty-eight per Cent.*
Anatocismus,		*Interest upon Interest.*

When the sum for the use of money is excessive, or what is not deemed

usurious,

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